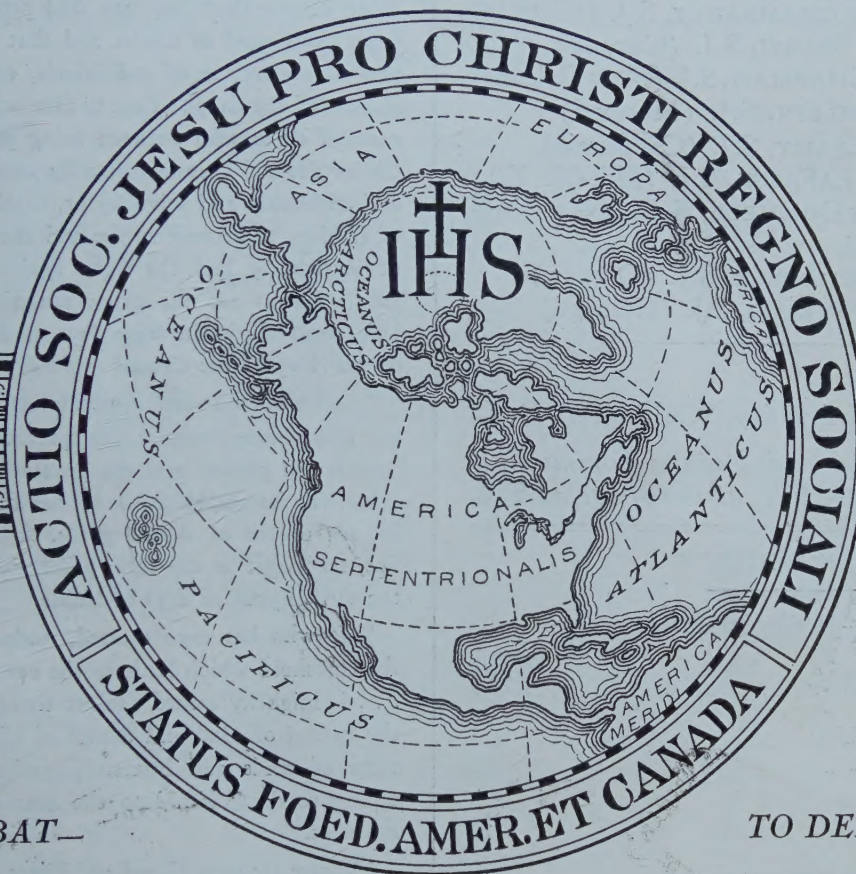


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

VOL. III



MAY-JUNE, 1938



Nos. 4-5

Informationes et Notitiae

NEWS BULLETIN

on

COMMUNISM and INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM

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EDITORIAL

CARDINAL PACELLI AT BUDAPEST

"Face to face with us is drawn up the lugubrious array of the militant godless shaking the clenched fist of the Anti-christ against everything that we hold most sacred. Face to face with us spreads the army of those who would like to make all the peoples of the earth and each individual human being believe that they can find prosperity only by receding from the Gospel of Christ and that the happiness and greatness of society, as of individuals, can but grow dim in the shadow of the Cross. Face to face with us lags the amorphous mass of those who without being personally hostile to Jesus Christ allowed themselves to be tossed by the muddy waves of indifference and frivolity or, carried away by the currents of fashion, to become at the end the unconscious accomplices of incredulity and the fight against Christ. Also face to face with us are the often sanguinary stations which the Church of Christ in these days of disorder suffers with Him on the Way of the Cross.

"And while our soul contemplates this gigantic drama and our heart beats faster at the spectacle of this duel where the 'mysterium gratiae' and the 'mysterium iniquitatis' meet each other, the irresistible force of our faith and our love, fanned by the breath of divine grace, forces the Credo from our lips, no longer as the calm psalmody of days of quiet but as the virile hymn of days of battle.

"He who has once crossed, under the guidance of grace, the threshold which leads to the central mystery of our faith . . . is mightily armed against enterprises of faithlessness, of the hatred of God and denial of Christ, against the pretensions of pride and human prejudices which surround him trying to draw him into the nets of their errors and their mistakes.

"Where are now Herod and Pilate and Nero and Diocletion, and Julian the Apostate and all the persecutors of the first centuries? Saint Ambrose replies: 'The Christians who have been massacred had won the victory: the vanquished were their persecutors.' Ashes and dust the enemies of Christianity! Ashes and dust all that they have desired, pursued—perhaps even tasted for a short moment—of power and terrestrial glory!"



Part I

Home Survey



Communism and Catholics

One of the high lights of the Tenth Annual Convention of the United States Communist Party, Section of the Third International, was the appeal by Earl Browder, in his report, to Catholics to join in with the Communist "Democratic Campaign." Orders were given to the delegates from every part of the country to concentrate their efforts on the Catholic laity, and to increase the membership of the party by the enrollment of Catholic members, particularly those of the working classes. Almost an hour of Earl Browder's four-and-one-half-hour report was devoted to the question of Catholic cooperation. Immediately several Catholic spokesmen rejected the offer and exposed the strategy on which it is based. Some of these answers are given here.

FATHER WALSH ANSWERS BROWDER

FATHER EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J., Vice President of Georgetown University and Regent of the School of Foreign Service, delivered the Commencement address to the graduating class of the University of Detroit on Tuesday evening, June 7. Father Walsh was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the exercises in the Detroit Masonic Temple. In the course of his speech, he made reference to the national convention of the Communist Party held in New York last week, during which Earl Browder made an appeal to the twenty-one million American Catholics to make common cause with Communists in support of social justice. The section of Father Walsh's speech dealing with Browder's invitation follows:

"In the national convention of the Communist Party held in New York City one week ago, the American section of the Third International invited the people of the United States to accept the Moscow program as surest guarantee of social salvation and best safeguard of democracy. With the press of the world still recording the martyrdom of the Russian people under the ruthless dictatorship of the most undemocratic regime known to modern history, and with the victims of its terrorism falling by thousands in a blood purge that has been in progress for the last two years, the American spokesman for Stalin singled out the Catholic Church for special mention and conciliation. The keynoting orator declared: 'Within the camp of Democracy are included the great ma-

jority of the members of the Catholic Church. We Communists extend the hand of brotherly cooperation to them and express our pleasure to find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with them for the same economic and social aims.'

"Fortunately the Catholic Church has anticipated Mr. Browder's new tactics of the 'United Front' imposed on all national units of the Komintern at the Seventh Congress of the Third International, held in Moscow in August, 1935. With the American delegation listening attentively, Mr. Dimitrov, president of that international arm of the Soviet Government, explained the revised tactics required by changed circumstances. The offensive, obscene, and gross methods of the past were to be gently discarded and a more subtle approach to the enemy's camp adopted—even as the Greeks employed a gift in the shape of a Trojan Horse to breach the battlements of ancient Ilion. The final objectives—overthrow of the American Democracy in favor of a minority dictatorship of one class, and the gradual abolition of all religious belief—are to remain unchanged but masked behind copious olive branches heaped like a perfumed camouflage before the implacable visages of the concealed shock troops. Entrance having been thus obtained into the inner citadel of confidence, the defenders thereof are to be intellectually disarmed by warmly commending their activities for the reform of acknowledged abuses. Then they are to be cautiously enrolled to the banners of disguised collectivism by invoking the

menace of Fascism, and so persuaded to advance shoulder to shoulder with the exulting Marxists. Thus, the 65,000 members of the Communist Party of America hope to sway the emotions, organize the resentments and profit by the momentum of the millions of discontented and unemployed in the United States who normally would have small sympathy with the Communist Manifesto. But your experienced propagandist knows that an empty stomach has no ears—only a gnawing hunger for bread.

"All this is in perfect keeping with Lenin's strategy. Did he not hate both Democracy and Christianity, and so express himself unequivocally in many passages of those cherished instructions to his followers, deviation from which means disaster, even execution, for the dissenter? But, realist as he was, he foresaw that conquest of the world to his messianic vision of a de-spiritualized and mechanized humanity was impossible without the help of dupes and credulous liberals among his opponents. Therefore, in his *Collected Works*, Volume XVIII, Section 2, pages 44-45, he outlined the steps to be taken: 'To build a Communist society by the hands of Communists—this is a childish idea. The Communists are a drop in the ocean, a drop in the ocean of the people. They will only be able to lead the people along their path if they correctly define the path in the sense of a world historical direction. We shall be in a position to direct economic development if the Communists are able to build up this economic system by other hands, while they themselves

will learn of this bourgeoisie and direct it along the path which they wish it to go.

"In pursuance of this policy of zig-zag towards a fixed idea—the outlines of which are clearly discernible in the Soviet State—Mr. Browder now holds out a gloved hand to his most feared enemy, the Catholic Church. But not all the perfumes of Araby will kill the odor of tyrannous brutality that clings to the weapon it conceals, sharpened as it is for the slaying of all Christian civilization. He would embrace us the better to choke us. He would flatter us with insinuations of solidarity in pursuit of the common cause of social justice—and commend to our lips the poisoned chalice of class warfare. That achieved, the party would 'liquidate' under cover of civil strife the gullible collaborators who had satisfactorily performed the 'historic' function described by the master, Lenin. Among the earliest victims would be Catholics distinguished for leadership or intellect but whose belief in a Supreme Being and a revealed religion makes them in Lenin's phrase 'an unspeakable abomination.' Since the elimination of every trace of the supernatural is an essential and an inseparable tenet of Communism clearly postulated by its official philosophers and strategists, any profession of incidental and transitory affection for Catholics must be judged in the light of the purpose behind the hypocrisy and on the recorded facts now manifest whenever and wherever Communism gains the upper hand. To be amiable, the Communist executioner of 'The God-Idea' may sometimes extend some slight courtesy to his victim—as did the cook who asked the eels: 'Do you prefer to be fried in butter or in oil?'

"It will require more than sterile invocation of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln to convince Americans of the underlying democracy of Moscow and more magic than Mr. Browder commands to transform Catholic ideals of human liberty into Communism's proved degradation of human personality. He is biting on granite—which may sharpen the teeth of his dialectics but will leave no trace on the rock."

"WISDOM" EDITOR REFUSES OFFER

The Rev. Paul B. Ward, C.S.P., editor of the monthly *Wisdom*, which recently received a bitter tirade from the pen of I. Amter, chief organizer of the New York State Communist Party, issued a statement assailing the report of Browder as "propaganda

filled with lies and bearing the same trademark that stamped the pre-revolution promises to the Church in Spain."

"Earl Browder's speech 'We Extend the Hand of Brotherly Cooperation to Catholics' was to be expected," Father Ward said. "Communism admits Catholicism as the great stumbling block in its onward march. Browder, strategist, trained in Russia, commissar for the United States, tries a different technique from the bloody record of priest murders by Communists in Spain. On April 13 all Communist units in the United States were advised that each member must concentrate on combating the Catholic Church. It was further plotted that any Catholic who voted against the Reorganization Bill was to be 'put on the spot' and defeated if candidate for reelection.

"There are many gross inaccuracies in Mr. Browder's childish attempt to effect a rapprochement between Catholics and Communists. A recent utterance of Yaroslavsky, the leader of the 'World Union of the Godless' says in *Pravda*: 'An international anti-religious center must be created with a view to assist the Communist parties of each country in their increasing class struggle against religion and the priests . . . this struggle is a class struggle and is absolutely necessary.

"Catholics are not going to play the role of Little Red Riding Hood. The record of the Communist Party in Spain is too tragic and the facts are too easily verified. Mr. Browder's attempt to whitewash the bloody record of Spanish Communist is naive to say the least. 'There is no anti-Catholicism' among the Spanish Reds, he says. Yet the documented evidence of ruined churches, ravaged religious houses, literally thousands of murdered ministers of religion in Spain is too fresh in Catholic minds to swallow this false camouflage.

"In 1922 the Communist Party of the U. S. A. affiliated with the Third International. The current attempt to divorce the United States Communists from their Moscow headquarters is futile. Mr. Browder occupies an office where *The Daily Worker* has its headquarters. The issue of *The Daily Worker* as of May 30, 1938, carries in its masthead 'Section of Communist International.' Excerpts from the new Communist Constitution to be voted at the Tenth National Convention now in progress read as follows: 'The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist parties of other lands through the Communist International . . . Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be acted upon by the su-

preme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.' The Constitution of the Communist International (as published in 1936) states unequivocally that the International's Executive Committee is 'supreme over all national sections or parties. . . .'

"The Communist International (Comintern) gives unity of policy and leadership to the entire revolutionary movement of the world . . . the seat of the Comintern is Moscow. . . . The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is thus part of a world-wide organization. . . . Under the leadership of the Communist Party the workers of the U. S. A. will proceed from struggle to struggle, from victory to victory, until, rising in revolution, they will crush the capitalist State, establish a Soviet State.'" (These are the words of M. J. Olgin, editor of communist daily *Freiheit* and executive of the Communist Party in the U. S.)

"The menace of communism is real. The Communist Party of today is driving us relentlessly to a new world war. It is the chief abettor of social disintegration. Communists are past masters in the field of propaganda, but this latest attempt of Mr. Browder is inexpert, inaccurate, and to say the least, calculated to deceive the gullible.

"Communism cannot be Marxian without a world revolution. On February 14, 1938, in *Pravda*, Stalin admits that the idea of world revolution is not abandoned and that a conflict between the Soviet and the capitalist countries was inevitable. To secure its ultimate goal, it needs but two things, the decline of capitalism and a continued support from the Liberals."

DR. CURRAN ANSWERS ATTACK ON HIS BOOK

Answering the accusation that his book, *Facts About Communism*, was "dangerous to the morality of the younger generation," and the challenge to submit the book to a jury of churchmen, made by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in a report to the Tenth National Convention of the party recently concluded here, the Rev. Dr. Edward Lodge Curran, President of the International Catholic Truth Society, has made a vigorous reply to Browder.

Speaking at the Carnegie Hall session of the convention, Browder made an appeal to Catholics to "put aside matters of religious belief, ethics and family morality" and to join the Communists in the field of political relationships.

In the course of his attack upon Dr. Curran, Browder proposed that the loser apologize after a decision on the

book had been given by a jury of churchmen.

In a statement issued today, Dr. Curran said, in part:

"Earl Browder's recent comments upon my book *Facts About Communism* are of no value whatsoever. If Earl Browder wants to know how immoral the philosophy of Communism is, he ought to read a pamphlet *Communism and Morals* by the Rev. Raymond T. Feely, S.J. There he will find a quotation from Comrade Halle rejoicing in the Soviet establishment of legalized abortion centers, which are forbidden by the moral law and by the statutory law of every civilized country in the world. Earl Browder's writings and speeches have discredited him from ever being considered a fair and impartial critic.

"In his recent Baltimore speech Earl Browder reveals this fundamental hypocrisy of Communistic tactics. He declared in Baltimore that 'there is nothing whatever in Catholic doctrine that rules out membership in the Communist Party.' He appealed to Catholics to cooperate with Communism.

"In view of these false and pernicious statements I sent Earl Browder a telegram to which Mr. Browder,

were he interested in fair discussion and criticism, should have replied."

The telegram challenged Browder's right to speak on matters of Catholic doctrine, quoted Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Atheistic Communism, and said: "Your speech will deceive no sincere and honest Catholic. Your attack upon my priesthood will be resented by all religious-minded American citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic alike."

"Earl Browder's reference to my chapter 'Communism and Morals' in my book *Facts About Communism* is just a smoke-screen to get away from facing the truth that Communism is atheistic as well as immoral and that no Catholic can have anything to do with it whatsoever," Dr. Curran added.

FATHER BOLAND

ALSO ANSWERS

The offer of the "hand of brotherly cooperation" extended to Catholics by Earl Browder on behalf of the Communists is a treacherous ruse similar to the Greeks' gift of a wooden horse to the Trojans, the Rev. Dr. John P. Boland, chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, declared.

An eventual union of Communists and Catholics was foreseen by Dr. Boland, but he added that "we will absorb them, rather than they us." Such a union, he declared, would require acceptance by the Communists of the Catholic terms of recognition of private property, freedom of worship, and the Catholic concept of democracy.

Browder's assertion that Catholics and Communists already are together "in the camp of democracy" was rejected by Dr. Boland. He said the Communist Party has "long miles to travel" before it becomes democratic. Agreeing with Browder's statement that Catholics are democratic, he declared that Communism is "the very antithesis of democracy." The "Soviet experiment" in Russia and Leftist Spain, he said, "spells political dictatorship" and includes as a natural consequence the "liquidation or imprisonment of those who insist on expressing their own views."

In likening the Communist gesture to the Trojan horse incident, Father Boland pointed out that the Greeks "took by deceit what they could not take by open attack," and referred to Dimitrov's own characterization of Soviet tactics.

New Pledge For Communists

IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE OATH OF PUBLIC OFFICE?

By HUGH O'CONNOR

New York Times, May 29, 1938

THE Communist Party has just published its first nation-wide form of pledge for all party members. Particular interest attaches to the pledge because of its bearing on the frequently asked question: Can a Communist consistently take oath as a public officer in the American democracy?

Every public officer in this state is required to sign an oath, to be filed in the office of the local county clerk, as follows:

I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of (whatever it may be) according to the best of my ability.

For Communists throughout the country hereafter a pledge is to be required by the tenth national convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America, now in session in New York, as follows:

I pledge firm loyalty to the best interests of the working class and full devotion to all progressive movements of the people. I pledge to work actively for the preservation and extension of democracy and peace, for the defeat of fascism and all forms of national oppression and for the establishment of socialism. For this purpose I solemnly pledge to remain true to the principles of the Communist Party and to maintain its unity of purpose and action and to work to the best of my ability to fulfill its program.

While on the basis of the exact words of the two oaths there is no evident conflict, the opinion is widespread, particularly among certain religious and veterans' organizations, that there is more to the Communist creed than appears in the oath. Communist leaders have taken a strong stand for democracy, but this has been interpreted in some quarters as a more or less temporary expedient, the leaders explaining that it is only under democracy, with its free speech and free assembly, that Communists can work and spread their doctrines. To questions of the overthrow of the government by violence the Communist

reply is to the effect that if violence occurs it will be the fault of the "minority" which tries to prevent the triumph of Communism.

Heretofore the only pledges required of Communists were formulated by the local party organizations, and in some localities there were no pledges. Simon W. Gerson, whose eligibility has been the subject of dispute since Borough President Isaacs appointed him to the office of confidential examiner in Manhattan, has sworn on the witness stand that he never took any Communist oath.

To clarify the situation, this first national party pledge was drawn by the central committee of the organization, headed by William Z. Foster; and was made public by Earl Browder, the general secretary, with the explanation that the new pledge and other new sections were being written into the constitution "as a direct answer to those reactionary tory attacks which attempt to characterize the Communist Party as undemocratic."

In Article VI, entitled "Rights and Duties of Members," the new constitution declares:

The Communist Party of the United States of America upholds the democratic achievements of

the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party, which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny to any degree. The Communist Party of the United States of America, standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

The constitution provides that "individual party members enjoy unrestricted rights of discussion in pre-convention periods," but declares that "decisions of the convention shall be final."

Under "disciplinary procedure," the punishments range from censure to expulsion, and it is provided:

Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party procedure, or members whose actions are detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled and exposed before the general public.

As to its relations with the Communist International, of which the American party is often charged with being a subordinate section, the constitution says:

The Communist Party of the United States of America is affiliated with its fraternal Communist parties of other lands through the Communist International, participates in international congresses through its national committee. Resolutions and decisions of international congresses shall be acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the national convention, or, between conventions, by the national committee.

The Communists held sessions in a hotel which used to be the Elks' clubhouse in New York. It has been said that their 16-point program is so mild that it would serve as a summary of the New Deal which President Roosevelt inaugurated five years ago. But

their own resolutions reflect uncertainty that their historic shift, however gradual, from immediate expectation of revolution to the compromises of the popular democratic front, will find wide acceptance. They resolve now:

"The party will not raise as an ultimate condition its official and formal recognition and admittance into the democratic front, but shall work energetically to establish the preconditions for such official recognition by its democratic allies at the earliest possible moment."

The constitution provides that the name of the organization shall be the Communist Party of the United States of America and that its emblem shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top "Communist Party of the U. S. A.," and underneath "Affiliated to the Communist International." Qualifications for membership are as follows:

"Any person, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, sex, color, religious belief or nationality, who is a citizen or who declares his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States and whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned, shall be eligible for membership. A party member is one who accepts the party program, attends the regular meetings of the membership branch at his place of work or in his territory or trade, who pays dues regularly and is active in party work."

The following pledge is required of an applicant for membership after acceptance:

"I pledge firm loyalty to the best interests of the working class and full devotion to all progressive movements of the people. I pledge to work actively for the preservation and extension of democracy and peace, for the defeat of Fascism and all forms of national oppression and for the establishment of Socialism. For this purpose I solemnly pledge to remain true to the principles of the Communist Party and to maintain its unity of purpose and action and to work to the best of my ability to fulfill its program."

The initiation fee for an employed person is fixed at 50 cents and at 10 cents for an unemployed person. Monthly dues, rates of which are to be fixed by the party convention, are to be divided 25 per cent to the branch, 35 per cent to the national office and the remaining 40 per cent between the respective state, county, city and section organizations in accordance with decisions of state conventions.

Every four months all members of the party are to be required to pay an extra assessment amounting to the average monthly dues for the preced-

ing four months for the "International Solidarity Fund," to be used by the national committee of the party to aid "brother Communist parties in other countries suffering from Fascist and military reaction."

In answer to what Mr. Browder characterized as "reactionary tory attacks," the following section on the rights and duties of members is proposed to show that the Communist Party is democratic:

"The Communist Party of the U. S. A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree."

"The Communist Party of the U. S. A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy."

The national convention is made the supreme governing body of the party, with the national committee functioning as such between conventions. Party members are required to join their respective trade unions, to work for the principles of Socialism and to abide by the party decisions. No party member shall have personal or political relationships with Trotskyites, Lovestoneites or "other known enemies of the party and the working class."

The national committee is empowered to issue charters to state and local organizations and to appoint a National Control Commission and a Political Bureau or "Polbureau," members of which must have been Communists for five years. The proposed constitution reads:

"On various disciplinary cases, such as violation of party unity, discipline and ethics or concerning lack of class vigilance and Communist firmness in facing the class enemy, or of spies, swindlers, double-dealers and other agents of the class enemy—the National Control Commission shall be charged with making investigations and decisions, either on appeals against the decisions of lower party bodies or on cases which are referred to it by the national committee or which the national committee itself deems necessary to take up directly. * * *

"Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunk-

ards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party pro-

cedure, or members whose actions are detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed

from positions of responsibility, expelled and exposed before the general public."

Communist Propaganda

BISHOP SCHLARMAN EXPOSES PROPAGANDA TRICK OF REDS

The Register, Denver, June 5, 1938

TO REVIVE interest of young Americans in a discredited and dying cause, the Leftist League of American Writers, in cooperation with the American Student Union and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, is offering \$1,000 in prizes to college and high school students for the best manuscripts on "The Anti-Fascist Struggle in Spain." Bishop Joseph H. Schlarmman, in a letter to all priests of the Diocese of Peoria, exposes the contest as a scheme "to get our young people to read pro-Red and anti-Franco (which to them means anti-Catholic) literature. It is an attempt to sabotage the martyrdom of Christianity in Red Spain."

Posters advertising the contest are being displayed in public libraries and in schools the country over, along with a list of suggested reading from Communist and other Leftist sources. After consultation with Bishop Schlarmman, the commander of the local American Legion Post had the circular removed from the Peoria Public library.

All three groups sponsoring the contest are communistically inspired organizations which have long been in the struggle to whip up American sympathy and contributions for the Red government of Spain. The contest is open to undergraduates of American and Canadian universities, colleges, and secondary schools. A first prize of \$500 and other awards of \$250, \$125, \$75, and \$50 are offered. Entries may be poetry or prose, film or radio script, fiction, drama, or essay telling of "the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain today and its relation to the general welfare of the American citizen of tomorrow." The contest closes July 4.

The suggested reading list contains most of the pro-Red books and news reports published in this country since the beginning of the Spanish war. Not one book by a Catholic or by an opponent of the Spanish Reds is included. Earl Browder, head of the American Communist Party; G. D. H. Cole, Malcolm Crowley, Joseph Lash, Herbert Matthews, and Elliot Paul are prominent among the recommended authors. The speeches and papers of

the first and second American Writers' congresses, the boomerang letter of greeting sent to Red Spain by 60 duped Congressmen and Senators, dispatches to the *N. Y. Times* from "Loyalist" territory, and translations of "Loyalist" ballads are also recommended. Periodicals suggested for study include the *Nation*, the *New Masses*, the *New Republic*, *Among Friends* (magazine of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade), and *Fight* (published by the American League for Peace and Democracy).

With announcement of the contest came publication in New York of a pamphlet presenting "the opinion of writers in America" on the Spanish war. The booklet is based on a questionnaire circulated by the American Writers' League. Like the old trickster who asked his friend, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" the Writers' League asked two trick questions: "Are you for or against Franco and Fascism?" "Are you for, or are you against, the legal government and the people of Republican Spain?" The booklet lauds Communist Comrade Browder as one of the world's "sensitive instruments, the measurers of national and world opinion in the making."

EXTENT OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

"Those who imagine that Communist propaganda is to be scorned, or who attribute to it a purely economic character without any anti-religious import would certainly modify their views were they to have an opportunity of visiting the exhibition of the Communist press—*La Stampa Comunista nel Mondo*—at Rome," the Rev. Joseph Papin Archambault, noted Canadian Jesuit, writes to *Le Devoir*, Montreal French language daily newspaper, from Rome.

"Organized by the secretariate of the *Lettres de Rome*, this exhibition contained thousands of pamphlets, placards, books, newspapers, classified by countries and grouped under explanatory headings," he writes. "Also on view are numerous sketches and graphs exposing the work of Communism and its penetration throughout the world.

"These documents are set out in five halls. The largest is devoted to the U. S. S. R. and to Spain. In the background a large picture of Lenin dominates it with this inscription: 'He is dead but his work survives him.' All about are illustrated posters of a blasphemous character published by the Godless of Russia. On the three other walls are inscribed the names of Bishops, Priests and Religious murdered in Spain.

"Stretching the length of the room is an astonishing variety of newspapers, pamphlets, and books of the most varied colors and titles.

"But before coming to this last stage where triumphant Communism appears to us in its true light, covered with blood, surrounded by ruins and turned against God, the visitor passes through four other halls of which the appearance, if less brutal, continues nonetheless menacing.

"The first is reserved for France. The French Communist Party doesn't concede anything to any other in press propaganda. In the last two years it published 60 works, which have attained a lump circulation of 466,300 copies.

"The second hall introduces us to the British Empire. In England Communism is not yet very strong. Enrolled members number 13,000 to 15,000 it is said. There is not found among the English workers' organizations the sympathy and support which the French Syndicates give to it. Its daily organ, the *Daily Worker*, has only a limited circulation of which the exact number is kept secret.

"Ireland, Canada and Australia also figure in this hall. We find there a big number of newspapers and reviews published in Canada: *Clarté*, the *Daily Clarion*, the *Young Worker*, and electoral placards.

"The next hall contains the publications of the United States, South America and Mexico. On entry a diagram attracts one's attention. It indicates the vast Communist work accomplished in America. Numerous tables covered with publications attest its exactitude. Statistics taken from the exhibition guide, published by the chief organizer, the Rev. Father Ledit, S.J., director of the *Lettres de Rome*, reveal:

"The central organ of the Communist Party in the United States is the *Daily Worker* of New York. It has a circulation of 66,000 copies. A Jewish paper, *Freiheit*, follows it with nearly 60,000. Then come a number of newspapers of all languages and formats. Each city of any importance has among other things its 'workers' library' fed with publications from the party. Beside these pamphlets are placed 'doctrinal works,' the 'classics of Communism' (Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin). For the most part they count numerous successive editions of 100,000 copies each.

"Finally the last hall gathers together publications of several European countries, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Holland and others."—*N. C. W. C. News Service*.

COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY

By JAY LOVESTONE

New York Herald-Tribune May 25, 1938

The proposed amendments to the constitution of the Communist Party are only too clear an indication of how far this party, under the tutelage of Stalin, has departed from the long-recognized landmarks of Communism, or indeed from the traditional standards of the radical movement generally. One of these new provisions pledges unbounded loyalty to "any or all institutions of American democracy" and even undertakes to "oppose with all its power" any group striving to "undermine, weaken or overthrow" these institutions. Now, if Communism or Socialism has any mission at all, it is precisely to challenge these "institutions of American democracy" which are, after all, the institutions of capitalism and which, for the masses of the American people, still mean economic exploitation, political deception, labor frame-up, lynch law and the ever-present danger of war.

It is the same "democracy" that the program of the Communist International (adopted in 1928 and presumably still binding for the Communist Party here) denounces as a "means of deceiving and enslaving the masses." A Communist Party that takes upon itself the defense of the "institutions of American democracy" is no more than a grotesque caricature of the kind of Communism that Marx and Lenin stood for. Such a party is, or at least it aspires to be, a bulwark of capitalism.

Especially disgraceful, in our opinion, is the proposal embodied in one of the amendments, to restrict party

membership to those who are citizens of the United States or who declare their intention of becoming such. This is the crassest jingoism. There are many conservative trade unions in this country that would scorn to place such a restriction on their membership. It is one thing to urge and assist foreign-born workers to become citizens for the sake of more effective participation in American political and social life; it is quite another thing to place such foreign-born workers in a special inferior category, as second-class elements unworthy of membership in a party styling itself proletarian and Communist.

And what shall we say of the ban that Mr. Browder proposes to place upon the members of his party forbidding them to have any "personal or political relations" with "Lovestoneites or Trotskyites?" Is it not a rather significant indication of Mr. Browder's acute consciousness of the weakness of his party's political position? We can hardly blame Mr. Browder. To allow the members of his party to come into free "personal and political" contact with the "Lovestoneites" would obviously be very dangerous from his standpoint, for it would expose the rank and file of the Communist Party to the influence of reason, experience and loyalty to principle, and might possibly shake their confidence in the sacred dogmas of Stalinism. Mr. Browder must be disturbed, indeed, at the state of mind of the members of his party, at the doubts and questions beginning to arise in their minds despite all indoctrination and repression if he has to resort to such desperate remedies as to forbid them by a constitutional enactment to talk to or consort with political opponents, something no other ecclesiastical organization has ever attempted to do.

We, on our part, have no such fears. We are not only willing to establish contact with members of the Communist Party, but we are even determined to do so, despite Mr. Browder's pontifical ban. We feel that in the Communist Party, even as it is today, there are many hundreds of sincere, devoted Communists, and with these we will continue in the future, as we have done in the past, to maintain fraternal relations. And Mr. Browder will not be able to stop us. He cannot keep his members under lock and key 24 hours of the day! After all, he hasn't Stalin's G. P. U. at his disposal!

Despite all their cringing and patrioteering Mr. Browder and his friends will not convince the American labor movement that his party belongs in it, as a healthy and constructive part of it. For however it may try to cover up

with new constitutional provisions, the Communist Party of the United States remains no more than a tool of the reactionary Stalin bureaucracy in Soviet Russia, and its leadership remains no more than a puppet leadership picked by Stalin, controlled by him in its every move and responsible to him and to him alone. As such, it is utterly repugnant to every aim and aspiration of American labor. It is an element essentially extraneous to and unassimilable by the labor movement and an obstacle to the realization of Socialism in this country.

(NOTE: Lovestone is a former member of the Communist Party, expelled for "Left deviation." He now heads a dissident group.)

SPAIN LEFTISTS PROPAGANDA AGENCIES

Spanish Leftist agencies "have literally blanketed the United States with distorted, false and misleading propaganda," the Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Code, of the Catholic University of America, declared in an address at Cornell University. "Newspapermen, publicity experts and army officers who make a special study of propaganda are amazed at the extent of this propaganda and the highly efficient way in which it is organized, financed and directed," he said.

"The tragic part of all this," he added, "is that it has been so pronouncedly effective that the majority of Americans believe that unless they are not against General Franco, they are Fascists or at least no longer appreciate the benefits of democracy.

"The issue at stake is not Fascism versus democracy, nor Fascism versus Communism, but Christianity versus atheism. The issue in the Spanish crisis is whether militant atheism or Christianity is to dominate a land essentially Catholic. This issue has so aroused the ever-latent hatred of the Church that otherwise honest and sympathetic people are reluctant to admit the truth about the Spanish question. This almost incredible attitude is not due to political reasons, but to an unwillingness to believe something favorable to Catholicism. It is nothing more or less than hatred of Catholicism."

Dr. Code said that "if the American people knew the real facts of the Spanish Leftist propaganda set-up in this country, they would demand of Congress and the State Department not the repeal of the Neutrality Act allegedly to help the Spanish Leftists, but the recall to Madrid of Prof. Fer-

nando de los Rios, Spanish Leftists Ambassador at Washington, and his whole crew of propagandists."

Asserting that "the chief propagandist agency in this country has been and still is the so-called Spanish Embassy in Washington," Dr. Code charged that "Professor de los Rios is conducting this propaganda factory disguised as an embassy."

Asking why "Professor de los Rios and his staff" had "put in motion every propaganda device," Dr. Code said: "Not because they believe that the Spanish Leftists need arms. Official records at the State Department show that Russia, to say nothing of France and Mexico, the well-known supporters of the Spanish Reds, have purchased war materials in this country out of all proportion to the amount bought by Italy and Germany, the butt of the attack of the repeal advocates." He quoted State Department figures for the seven months from September to March, inclusive, to show that Germany and Italy bought \$725,140.02 worth of war materials in this country, while Russia and Mexico bought \$14,754,537.14 worth of such materials.

"What then is behind this violent piece of propaganda, false as well as Communistic?" Dr. Code continued. "I have it on confidential authority that it is not to help the Spanish Leftists so much as to promote the cherished Soviet plan of collective security, to weaken the recent Anglo-French hands-off policy as regards Spain by presenting this country as the champion of the Spanish Leftists and to permit the shipment of men—Americans—and munitions to Spain, in the hope that an attack upon American ships carrying these consignments might embroil this country in a war with those nations, enemies of the Soviets."

COMMUNISM IN THE SCHOOL

(Below are some of the questions put to the Reverend Fathers John P. Gallagher, S.J., and Kent L. Patterson, S. J., at the Loyola High School Forum held on Thursday evenings at Loyola High School and the answers given by Fathers Gallagher and Patterson.)

Baltimore Catholic Review, December 3, 1937

The following questions were answered by Father Gallagher:

Q. Do you think there is any more Communism in the schools of New York than in Washington or in the Federal Emergency Relief?

A. I can only speak from my own personal experience and from that of

others whom I know. I hear there is a great deal of Communism in Washington and that they have gotten in on the F. E. R. A. I was teaching at Fordham and I know what the experience of some teachers was. They work through what is called a cell. The cell is something that spreads. They work through the cell and their work spreads.

Earl Browder issued an appeal a year ago. He said they would get 1,000 propagandists—500 male and 500 female. They contact the children in the fourth year high school. They get them there in high school and they know all the answers. Talk about classes, war service value, etc. If there is a teacher who is in sympathy with the Communistic cause, she or he will select bright boys and girls and work through them, and the menace spreads. I think that Communism in the New York public school system is very considerable and I think that is something that ought to be tackled by the authorities. If Catholics, Protestants and Jews used the schools to propagate their religious beliefs something would be done about it.

Q. This forum was started with the idea that anybody could ask any question that he wanted and it would be answered. The common front is an aggregation of men who have pooled their common grievances and they hope to get sympathy and support. The best way to meet this common front is to remove the grievance as far as possible. The grievances have been there at least 60 years. Pope Leo wrote his letter about 45 years ago and the grievances still exist. I admit that the general plan of taking away these grievances was touched on by Leo and was reiterated by the wonderful encyclical of Pope Pius who could profit by experience and had many years to think out a way to get rid of these grievances. Now I would like to know what in the world that we, as Catholics, have done or are doing as a Catholic body in the way of a definite plan to rid the world and the people of these grievances along the plan of Social Justice called for in the Pope's encyclical.

A. I think we have done very little, but I think there is some reason. Of course the great wave of prosperity shared by the bulk of Americans up to 1929, more or less blinded Catholics as well as other Americans to the importance of this fact. There have been some exceptions. Monsignor Ryan, of the Catholic University, a very learned and fine priest, has done a great deal. Father Parsons has done a lot. Merely going out and denouncing the rich is not going to do much

good. Stirring up class hatred doesn't do. (Objection by Father Gallagher. The question is not a fair one. They bind the hands of the Church and then complain that the Church has done nothing. The Church has done miracles of charity. Witness Catholic hospitals conducted without a cent of state aid in many places.)

A young lady from Notre Dame Academy asked, "If Franco wins, won't he become a dictator just like the rest of them?"

A. Yes. I suppose he will, but not like Hitler, not like Stalin, not like Mussolini. I assume Spain will have some sort of military dictatorship, and I hope he will call in Robles and others. But don't mix a democracy with a parliamentary system. Some sort of dictatorship will be built up for a time after Franco wins, but you can be sure that as the country is returned to the Spaniards, there will be built up some kind of a democracy, possibly like Portugal's present government, according to the Spanish tradition.

Q. Has a priest no right to criticize a political party or a labor union?

A. In the controversy about which you ask I stand 100 per cent behind Archbishop Mooney. While it seems true that the Communists are boring from within in the C. I. O., and that John Lewis should "purge" the C. I. O., there is nothing in the principles of the C. I. O. to prevent Catholics from joining the C. I. O. And yet the ordinary person, judging from Father Coughlin's reference to Mohammedanism, might be led to believe that it was as bad for a Catholic to join the C. I. O. as it would be to join Mohammedanism. Catholics in the C. I. O. should oppose the Communistic boring from within. The United Front means now disguising their hatred for religion. The Communists now are even waving the American flag with the red flag.

The following questions were answered by Father Patterson:

Q. Do you think that the Communists are conducting propaganda in the public schools?

A. I know that in New York there is considerable Communistic propaganda in the public schools. It is sometimes veiled and subtle in character. Some teachers encourage it. I base these statements on direct evidence. Some school children are trained as propagandists in Communist night schools.

Q. What is the "Common Front"?

A. It is an effort by Communists to gain sympathy and support of Social-

ists, Radicals and even of moderate Progressives. It seeks to arouse respect for Soviet Russia as a bulwark against "war and Fascism." The Common Front strives to capitalize every grievance. Its agents seek to "bore from within" in unions, colleges, schools, peace societies, etc. It strives to manipulate the press.

Q. How should we meet the Common Front?

A. By exposing its origin and true character. Also by revealing the true state of affairs in Russia. But we must also use all our influence to aid in ending those abuses and grievances which the Common Front seeks to capitalize. Catholics should shun reck-

less attacks on the rich, we do not wish "class war." On the other hand, we should favor legislation to clear the slums, to protect labor and to end social abuses.

Q. Whose task is it to apply Catholic teaching to social problems in the concrete, here and now?

A. The clergy must lay down guiding principles. It is the task of the educated laity to lead in applying them.

Q. What do you think of a Farmer-Labor Party? Is it the Common Front?

A. In itself, such a party is perfectly licit. But Communists seek to dominate and manipulate it. Their press declares this.

Q. What about the cooperative movement?

A. This movement is admirable in itself. Of course, Communists try to influence it, as they do the C. I. O.

Q. What about the C. I. O.?

A. I think Archbishop Mooney has stated the Catholic position most admirably. The C. I. O. is a licit movement; its professed aims are good. Communists, however, are active in some C. I. O. units. Catholics in the C. I. O. should expose and resist their propaganda. Violence and contract-breaking are not legal or moral. I wish that the C. I. O. leaders would entirely renounce Communistic support. I say this as a friend of Labor.

Communism and the Jews

JUDAISM OPPOSES COMMUNISM, SAYS B'NAI B'RITH

CONDEMNING as vicious propaganda the "charge that the Jews are Communists or promote Communism," the Anti-Defamation League presented to the fifteenth convention of B'nai B'rith here yesterday, a report which emphasized the incompatibility of Judaism and Communism, and asserted that, of necessity, Jews should fight Communism.

"The great masses of the Jewish people are faithful to the religious teachings of their fathers," says this report, which was approved by the committee appointed to consider it. "In it they find consolation and hope. They believe in its precepts and in its prophecies. Russian Communism has fought unremittingly against the religious faith of the Jew. A Communist who was a Jew is now an apostate. Communism would destroy religious faith. If Communism were to rule, it would destroy both Judaism and Christianity. There are some Communists who were born Jews, just as there are Communists who were born Protestants and Catholics, but it is unjustified for this reason to accuse either one of these religious sects with the responsibility of Communism."

Sigmund Livingston, of Chicago, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, said that "Communism would tear down what Judaism stands for; therefore, Jews fight Communism." "The very fact that Communism is anti-religious shows that it is anti-Jewish," he added.

Mr. Livingston also expressed the belief that this propaganda was explainable as an anti-semitic weapon em-

ployed by Nazi Germans to undermine democratic institutions in this country. His report to the convention had said that "every ingenuity is devised to bring to this land and others the scourge of antagonism." "The radio, the platform, the press, the exchange students, the mail, the personal emissaries are all utilized to spread the frauds, forgeries, and fictions of Nazism to the unsuspecting American public."

The report also asserts that the "fraudulent 'Protocols'" are continuously used by propagandists and that "millions of copies have been printed by the Nazis in Germany and in foreign languages, notwithstanding the fact that it has been established beyond doubt that this document is a literary forgery and a fraud." "The democratic countries have become the No Man's Land in the battle for public opinion," the report adds. "The dictators of foreign lands wage warfare to destroy liberty in the very lands of democracy, but prohibit any attempt to influence public opinion for liberty, justice, or democracy in their own land."

The Anti-Defamation League, described by Mr. Livingston as "a purely educational institution trying to correct libels and frauds broadcast against the Jews," has been in existence for a quarter of a century. It decided to issue the current report, he said, because at the present time propaganda against the Jews "has centered on the charge that the Jews are Communists or promote Communism."

"The truth is," the report says, "that the Jews are not Communists and do not promote Communism. There are Jews who are Communists, just as Communists are in every sect and

group. The total of all Jews who are Communists and who believe in Communism is so small that it is negligible. The leaders of Communism in America are Earl Browder, William Foster, Robert Miner, William Patterson, Harry Haywood, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Max Bedacht. Not a single one of them is a Jew."

The report says it is frequently stated that David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, the labor leaders, are Communists, but that "we can authoritatively state that they are not Communists, are not connected with any Communistic organization, and do not favor Communism." It also says that Karl Marx "was baptized into the Christian faith at the age of six" and that "his environment was entirely Christian." It adds that it has been charged that Dr. Albert Einstein is a Communist and attended the Third International Congress in Moscow in 1929, but that "he has authorized us to state positively that he has never been at any time in Russia; that he at no time attended any congress of a political nature; that the charge that he is a Communist is false."

The report declares that, instead of constituting 90 per cent of the Communist Party in 1918, as has been charged, Jews were only 2.6 per cent. It adds that only one of the 13 persons making up the "Politbureau," the "supreme directing body in Russia" today, is a Jew. That is Kaganovitch, the report says. It asserts that "the orthodox Jew is the least revolutionary of all men and the great body of Russian Jewry is orthodox."

"We have our derelicts, as have all other groups and sects," the report continues, "but when the total of all good and the total of all bad is taken

and a balance is struck, it will be comparable with any group or sect in the land."

"Naziism and Bolshevism are the enemy of Christianity as well as Judaism," it is said.

Mr. Livingston described B'nai B'rith as "the oldest and largest Jewish fraternal association in the United States." It has lodges in every city, and in every town of over 20,000 population, he said. "There isn't a Communist in any lodge B'nai B'rith represents," he declared. "There is not a Communist in any synagogue."

Mr. Livingston quoted a letter from Vladimir Kebedev, Minister of the Navy under Kerensky, which stated that the charge that "Bolshevism is created by Jews" is a lie and that German Nazis are responsible for it. He also quoted figures to show that in Germany shortly before Hitler came into power, the Communist vote was a little under 6,000,000, while German Jews numbered only 550,000 and of these only 200,000 could have voted. He branded as "fantastic" the charge that "Jews have an international conspiracy." "There is no unity among Jews," he said. "The Jew is so disunited that he has no governing body for his church."

He flatly charged that German students sent to this country in exchange for American students are "sent here not to learn American ways, but are expressly sent for the purpose of furthering propaganda."—*N. C. W. C. News Service.*

COMMUNISM BETRAYER OF CAUSE OF LIBERALS, RABBI ISRAEL DECLARES

Communism was denounced as "the dictatorship of a hidebound and murderous bureaucracy" by Rabbi Edward L. Israel, a leading figure in Jewish circles, in an article written for the Religious News Service.

"Communism today has betrayed the cause of liberal and progressive thought and has given a setback to all forward-looking movements," Rabbi Israel declared.

"Communism today," Rabbi Israel said, "is represented in the world by Soviet Russia and the Stalin government. Except to a few intellectuals, Communism does not represent an economic theory of a collective society. It has reference to political technique, of violent revolution rather than economic theory. It means dictatorship—and not even the half-pardonable dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of a hidebound and murderous bureaucracy.

"It means the support of the anti-Fascist cause in Spain at the same time that Russia is helping the Fascists in Ethiopia by selling oil to Mussolini. Communism today appears to mean to advocate the boycott of Japanese goods but to say little if anything about the boycott of Nazi goods because of the trade relations between Germany and Russia.

"Communism, as demonstrated to the American people by the American Communist, means to run crying to the American Civil Liberties Union when freedom of speech for Communists is violated or a Communist meeting is raided, but, on the other hand, to denounce as a reactionary anyone who objects to the granting of the right of freedom of speech and peaceable assemblage to the totalitarians at the other end of the scale.

"It means the support of a campaign of godlessness in Russia in which no minister of religion can become a citizen, but at the same time a subtle cajolery of left-wing parsons here in America because these same parsons can be of momentary service in bringing on the 'revolution.' It means the screaming denunciation of yellow journalism as practiced by Hearst, but a rabid defense of yellow journalism as practiced by the *Daily Worker*.

"These, and not a scientific and academic discussion of the advantages of a cooperative or collective economic system, are the marks of Communism in the world today. I refuse to support them. I uncompromisingly condemn them. I think that Communism today has betrayed the cause of liberal and progressive thought and has given a setback to all forward-looking movements. My position as a liberal forces me into opposition to Communism."

BID TO CATHOLICS IN SOUTH AMERICA

By JACK O'BRIEN
New York Herald-Tribune, June 12, 1938

Communists in Latin America have decided to submerge their revolutionary personality, for the present at least, in a political alignment with democratic forces to block the progress of Fascism south of the Rio Grande. The decision, a reversal of the program that has caused uneasiness among conservative Latins for two decades, was made by Latin delegates at the tenth annual convention here of the Communist Party of the United States.

Most of the speakers regarded the Monroe Doctrine as an "elastic tool of reactionary big business," but the 1,200 delegates agreed that the "good neighbor" policy of President Roose-

velt in Latin-American diplomacy had qualities that established it as the "soundest basis for unity in the fight against encroachment of European doctrines."

But the rue and cry for armed uprisings of oppressed peoples no longer could be heard in the verbal recommendations for combating the enemies of the working classes.

Grave danger from Fascism was held to be paramount among the evils facing 7 of the 21 American republics, with Cuba, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela and even Puerto Rico listed as the countries where the people were engaged in a "decisive" struggle for freedom.

Blas Roca, fraternal delegate from Cuba, said that the Fascists had established camps at the doors of Havana, maintaining operation bases at Jaimanitas and Cojimar, from which they were carrying on an intensive propaganda campaign in the press and by radio, uncensored and unmolested by Colonel Fulgencio Batista, Cuban Army chief and "strong man."

"The intense penetration of our country and other Latin-American republics," said Roca, "is the Fascist means of preparing for a world war. And if we wish to prevent that war we must be vigilant so as not to be stabbed in the back by an enemy able to establish strategic bases of support in our own back yards.

"We should take into account that this same Fascist penetration was responsible for the encouragement given to Germany, Italy and Japan in their seizure of Austria, raping of Ethiopia, invasion of Spain and dismemberment of China."

Cuba also is building a democratic front, according to Roca, who said the movement had met success in forcing the withdrawal of the military from civil affairs. The post office at Havana, he remarked, is no longer confused with the general headquarters of the army by American tourists; nor does the University of Havana serve as a barracks for Batista's troopers.

This most surprising plank of the revised Communist platform was drafted with an eye on Latin America, where Catholicism predominates. Earl Browder, secretary general of the Communist party of the United States, said in his keynote address to the convention that "within the camp of democracy are included the great majority of members of the Catholic Church," and added: "We Communists extend the brotherly hand of co-operation to them, and express our pleasure to find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with them for the same economic and social aims."



Part II

Christian Social Program



Catholics Formulate Social Program

Probably the greatest meeting ever held in this country by Catholics devoted to furthering the Christian Social Program took place at Milwaukee, from May 2 to May 6, 1938. Several Archbishops and Bishops took part in the Conference and helped to formulate the application of Christian principles to conditions in this country. Particularly important in this regard were the Twenty-one Points of Bishop O'Hara, the Letter of the Apostolic Delegate, and the speeches by Archbishops Mooney and McNicholas, all of which are given here.

LETTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE MILWAUKEE CON- FERENCE

“IN the last analysis the Christian Social Order is nothing other than a practical outworking of the social implications of the virtues, particularly of justice and charity.

“So many think of justice and charity without remembering in fact their essential characteristic, namely that they are virtues. They forget the duties of human brotherhood, which is without meaning and which in truth is wholly nullified if it is considered without reference to the Fatherhood of God.

“Nor do they ponder well the duties which are consequent upon human dignity; neither in regard to the family, which is a necessary and indispensable unit of society, whose formation and whose material and spiritual development are a natural right; nor in respect to the infirm and the needy, for whom it is a social duty to provide.

“Thank God, we have as Catholics unusual helps toward a proper understanding of the Christian Social Order. The great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII give us, as it were, its constitution; and those of Pope Pius XI wonderfully develop and illustrate it. These splendid documents propose the only true solution of ‘the difficult problem of human solidarity, called the social question,’ explaining on the basis of divine revelation and of right reason the relative rights and the mutual duties of the rich and the poor, of capital and labor, and in fact of every member of society. . . .

BISHOP O'HARA'S SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

1. That industrial and financial power must not be divorced from social responsibility: such power must always have in view the good of the industry or business as a whole and also the common good.

2. That a prominent aim of industry should be to provide stable employment so as to eliminate the insecurity and the other social ills that arise from excessive changes of employment and residence.

3. That as machinery is introduced into industry workers thereby displaced should be guaranteed adequate protection.

4. That employment should be available for workers at not less than a family living income.

5. That a Christian Social Order in America will look forward to some participation by employees in profits, and management.

6. That a wide distribution of ownership of property should be encouraged by legislation.

7. That there should be limitations of hours of labor in keeping with human need for rest and relaxation. This is especially true in regard to the labor of women and young persons. The industrial employment of children outside of the family should be prohibited.

8. That monopoly should be controlled in the public interest.

9. That collective bargaining through freely chosen representatives be recognized as a basic right of labor.

10. That minimum wage standards be set up by law for labor unprotected by collective bargaining.

11. That the legitimacy of the profit

motive in the development and conduct of business be frankly recognized; and its control in the interest of the common good should not aim at its extinction.

12. That there must be an increase of wealth produced, if there is to be an adequate increase of wealth distributed.

13. That a proper objective of monetary policy is to avoid rapid and violent fluctuations in commodity price levels.

14. That after a man has given his productive life to industry, he should be assured of security against illness and dependent old age.

15. That a balance must be maintained between industrial and agricultural population; and between the rewards for industrial and agricultural activity.

16. That a healthy agricultural system will encourage the family farm rather than the commercial farm.

17. That the family, rather than the individual, is the social and economic unit: and its needs should be recognized both by industry and by the State.

18. That there are natural rights possessed by human persons and families which God has given and which the State cannot abrogate.

19. That a Christian Social Order, organized on the basis of self-governing industries and professions, according to the plan proposed by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical on “Reconstructing the Social Order” will promote Social Justice and establish industrial peace.

20. That a Christian Social Order can be maintained only on the basis of a full acceptance of the person and the teachings of Jesus Christ.

21. That a Christian Social Order involves decent housing for all the people.

"Beyond the enunciation of these principles, we are charged with the further responsibility of translating these principles into action," Bishop O'Hara added.

ARCHBISHOP MOONEY'S ADDRESS ON SOCIAL ORDER

Our Constitution is the charter of all that is distinctively American in our national spirit. That document was written in a period as "pagan as the Christian centuries had up to that time known. Yet providentially that charter of ordered liberty was not written in the pagan spirit of that day.

A short time before it was written, indeed in the very year our independence was declared, there appeared in Great Britain a book whose author has been hailed as the "Father of Political Economy." That book formulated a whole theory of economic life which was based on unabashed self-interest, a theory which taught in effect that the general good stems automatically from the unrestrained operation of general greed. That pioneering economist of the English-speaking world was Adam Smith.

Moreover, the very year we began to live under our Constitution, France was to raise the swelling tide of this returning paganism in society by forbidding the people to organize in their working lives for the better attainment of their rights in industry. In the name of liberalism—of all things—and in the defense of "freedom of contract," the workers were made to stand apart from one another, to deal with employers either each alone or one pitted against the other—and therefore to be either well-off or miserably oppressed as uncontrolled power or capricious chance determined.

These two telling facts indicate the temper of the age in which our Constitution was written—an age that was renegade to the traditions of Christendom in economic theory and practice and fateful in setting up the currents which have carried us where we are in industry, commerce, and finance. Yet the founding fathers built this nation on principles which logically at least cut straight across those evil currents. The very preamble of our Constitution enshrines root ideas which come out of the Christian centuries. Our Government, the Constitution said, was "to establish justice." Our Government was to "promote the general welfare." These high-sounding phrases can be mere words. Much American history,

let us frankly admit, has made them mere words.

As a nation, then, we were baptized with a great Christian formula—the formula of justice and the general welfare. To establish justice is to demand from the citizen the practice of a great virtue, the virtue which makes us give every man his strict due. To promote the general welfare is to demand from the citizen the practice of an even greater virtue, the virtue of lending oneself in considerate cooperation with others to the achievement of purposes that benefit the whole body politic even at a sacrifice of immediate individual self-interest. The general welfare has a far wider scope than simple justice. It seeks the good of the community as a whole, the common weal, the "bonum commune" of the Christian centuries. Theologians of the older day spoke of the virtue it calls for as "general justice"; recent Encyclicals use the more apt and meaningful term "social justice."

It is clear that the government which undertakes to "promote the general welfare" assumes a delicate and far-reaching task. But it is inspiring to think that in an age when the policy of "laissez faire" was in full flower and fruit, the founders of our nation recognized that task of government and thus refused to turn against the Christian centuries and to canonize greed.

In the second place, I would have you note in the pondered words of the Constitution that while the Government was to *establish* justice, it was only to *promote* the general welfare. To me there is a world of meaning in that distinction. When we say that government is to establish justice we clearly denote, for instance, that government is to legislate against injustice, whether it be the injustice of an open theft that takes what a man already has, or, I might add, the injustice of a secret theft that keeps from an employe's pay-check the living wage to which he is entitled. When we say that government is to promote the general welfare, we just as clearly connote or imply that government was to leave to the citizens themselves the initiative in achieving general welfare, that government was to leave to the people themselves in the first instance the duty of making their ownership and work serve themselves and others. I like to think that the founding fathers sensed that here was something too personal, too complicated for government, alone and in the first instance, to undertake. No doubt they saw that government would then possess too far-reaching a power over the manifold activities of its citizens—a power which could be invoked some day, for example, to fix

all prices and determine all incomes in what would turn out to be—as it has turned out to be in a country we all know—a fruitless and blighting effort to create even a minimum of human well-being. But in undertaking to promote the general welfare government did retain a function, did assume a duty—to give impetus, to afford guidance, to exercise effective supervision to the end that in the human relationships of production, distribution, and exchange, social justice should be observed.

During these days we have been considering this twofold, distinct but related responsibility of citizenry and government to work out and to carry out a constructive program of social justice. Happily for us as Christians and proudly for us as Americans, it is easy to see that the practical plan for a Christian Social Order outlined by Pope Pius XI squares absolutely with the fundamental ideas of government set forth in our American Constitution.

In this connection it might not be out of place to utter a word of warning against the misleading inferences of hasty and inaccurate thinking about the papal program. The words "corporations" and "corporative system" have been used in the Encyclicals to designate these occupational groups and the social order of which they are the distinctive feature. "Ah," concludes the indiscriminating thinker in tones either of regret or exultation, depending on his attitude towards the Pope, "so the Pope is for the corporative state." "See," says the Sunday supplement writer, "the Pope is a Fascist." They are, indeed, a bit upset when in the same Encyclicals they read the Pope's restrained but unmistakable strictures on the corporative State as "substituting itself in the place of private initiative," as "excessively bureaucratic," and as being in danger of "serving particular political aims rather than contributing to the initiation of a better social order."

The truth, of course, is that there is a world of difference between a corporative system and a corporative State. The corporative system of social order is essentially a coordination of non-political vocational groups organized and controlled by the members themselves for the attainment of social justice in their mutual relationships of production, distribution, exchange, or service. The corporative State is a State in which government welds these vocational groups into its own very framework as genuine organs and institutions of the State, controls them utterly, and uses them to exercise its own domination over human relation-

ships in production, distribution, exchange, and service. The difference, it strikes me, is something like the difference between the regulated physical contact between two bodies and their chemical fusion—and that's a real difference. Better yet, for us as Americans, the difference is brought out in the words of our Constitution which set up a government to promote and not to control the general welfare. The corporative social order of Pius XI fits into our fundamental American ideas of government and does not call for an American corporative State.

Our American system divides governmental powers among the Federal authorities, the States, the counties, and the cities or towns. The principle is followed that the governmental unit which best can deal with a situation should actually do so, that the governmental unit which embraces the people involved in any issue should deal with that issue.

The system of occupational groups sponsored in the social Encyclicals applies the same principle to economic activity. The people in the industries and professions, organized locally, regionally, and nationally, bound together not merely according to the position they occupy in the labor market but according to the diverse functions they exercise in society, would cooperate in making their ownership and their work productive of good for themselves and for society. In this system issues are dealt with by those who can best do so because they are directly involved in them, rights are maintained and duties discharged by those who are closest to those rights and duties.

To sum up, then, a Christian Social Order envisages a well-defined partnership, dedicated to social justice and inspired by the charity of brotherhood in Christ, between government—Federal, State, or city—and the self-governing, democratically organized membership of the industries, of agriculture, of the trade and the professions. Who that knows the genius of America as expressed in our governmental ideals and institutions can fail to see that such a Christian Social Order represents a truly American opportunity? Who that sees this can fail to see further that it represents a distinctively American Catholic responsibility?

The conference we are closing tonight bears impressive witness to the fact that the Catholics of Milwaukee, under the far-seeing leadership of their Archbishop, are alive to that responsibility. The nation-wide Catholic organization which has sponsored this conference bears even more impressive witness to the fact that the Church in America is alive to that responsibility.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference was set up by the Bishops of the United States nearly 20 years ago for purposes which compass the discharge of that responsibility. They had in mind as one of their prime objectives the contribution which American Catholics can make to the establishment of a Christian Social Order in our country. They had in mind to make American Catholics more highly appreciate and other Americans more clearly understand the social value of the Christian heritage which the Church guards and transmits from generation to generation. They had in mind to bring to bear on all the reaches of social life the saving force of those undying moral laws which are written in the heart of man and in the word of God. This purpose is either manifest or latent in the work of all the departments which the N. C. W. C. has set up for the ordered furtherance of a great fundamental aim. That purpose is explicit and exclusive in the work of the Social Action Department, under whose auspices this conference has been held and in the desire of the department to keep in close touch with the two nation-wide federations of Catholic women and Catholic men, the N. C. C. W. and the N. C. C. M., as vehicles for the diffusion of Catholic social principles and agencies for their application to American life.

With the publication of the social Encyclicals the work of the Social Action Department has been given a clearer focus and a more definite immediate scope. Those Encyclicals not only formulate principles; they propose a program for a Christian Social Order. A world in ferment is looking for a program—not merely for what the practical man will call vague principles. The thinking part of our American world will essay the proposals of that program in the light of their adaptability to national traditions and institutions which rightly are still held sacred. Here as elsewhere economic individualism is intellectually bankrupt. Thinking men see that it is in reality the negation of a social program. In the reaction against the excesses of its heyday and against the general misery of its grand debacle, individualism's favorite defense is to raise the cry "Americanism," and to point to the spectre of government absolutism as the looming alternative. This defense is valid against Communism, which invokes government absolutism for the pretended relief of the proletariat. This defense is valid, too, against the various types of Fascism which invoke government absolutism for the protection of property. This defense is not valid against the

program for a Christian Social Order which the great Encyclicals adopt. That program, as you know who have followed the discussions of these days of study, stands for the protection of private property and for the uplift of the proletariat through a more just distribution of that property, but it does not stand for any sort of government absolutism. On the contrary, that program retains, in its system of occupational groups, the democratic processes which Americans revere, and reflects, in its attitude towards governments part in economic life, the traditional Christian principles which the founding fathers wrote into our American Constitution. A Christian Social Order, therefore, not only presents a real American opportunity; it represents our only opportunity to save the things for which we love America.

ARCHBISHOP McNICHOLAS' ADDRESS ON POPE

"On one occasion I was privileged to have the Holy Father say to me, while speaking of the evils of today and their solution: 'If we expect to be heard, we must speak so plainly that we cannot possibly be misunderstood.'

"Pius XI has spoken so clearly on the reform of the social order in the State and on the correction of morals that he cannot be misunderstood. . . . It is wrong to think of the social and economic question as one belonging exclusively to the material order, and therefore one that does not fall within the competence of the Church. . . .

"If men lie or are dishonest in economics, the Church must show them that this is bad morality. If the economic laws of a State do not conform to the unchangeable code of morals, it is the duty of the Church to show directly that they are bad morally. Indirectly, it becomes evident that they are also bad economics.

"Pius XI is thoroughly familiar with the extraordinary problem of unemployment in our country and its serious consequences to the social order. His grave concern is to make the whole world recognize the right of every man to work honestly and to work under human conditions and to receive human wages which will allow him either to maintain his family in modest comfort and reasonable security, or to give him the assurance that he can marry and found a home under these conditions. The Holy Father's social concern is to strengthen the family economically and spiritually, and so bring about a lasting reform which will benefit both State and Church.

"The Pope's paternal heart goes out to the countless thousands in our country who are hungry, to the sick poor, especially those who are utterly neglected, and to those who are without shelter. He knows our extreme riches and our extreme poverty. He longs to aid the poor, the unemployed, and the sick in our slums. He realizes the sad plight of the Negro in our country. . . .

"Poverty, cold, hunger, unemployment, and resulting sickness are giving men little or no opportunity to work for their soul's salvation, are embittering them, poisoning their minds and hearts, turning them against religion, and making many who could be useful members of society dangerous radicals. The degradation of their poverty and the inhuman conditions under which they live make many of them vicious and arouse in them a violence of passion which seems beyond control.

"Our country is engaged in mass production. We have also taught the whole world mass production. Consequences not anticipated by the industrial capitalists call for adjustments which should be made in justice and in charity. Groups that engage in mass production for profit only have a driving force that knows no moderation. They cannot be expected to see the evils of over-industrialization. Capitalists who see limitless opportunities for gain cannot weigh with a calm judgment the dangers and injustice arising from overcapitalization.

"If capitalists and industrialists could live for a few months under the same conditions that millions of deserving unemployed men, eager to work, are forced to live, there would be the beginning of a real understanding between capital and labor.

"While Pius XI condemns in strong language the evil of capitalism and states fearlessly the case against the unjust treatment accorded the poor and laboring man, he never arrays class against class. With perfect detachment from the spirit of the capitalist and industrialist, the Holy Father sees clearly that strange perversion which frequently is the companion of wealth and which makes the wealthy oppressors of the poor and laboring classes. . . . Pius XI always speaks as the father who loves all his children, whatever be their differences. As the Common Father, his heart goes out to all classes. He loves all, he seeks to serve all.

"Pope Pius calls for 'the reform of the social order and the correction of morals.' The reform of the social order refers principally to the State. We should not infer from this that the Holy Father wishes to change the structure of our government. Christ

did not come to found an earthly kingdom, nor even to direct earthly rulers in dealing with matters purely civil. . . .

"We have an excessive number of societies which often work at cross purposes. They are organized to promote the interest of all groups. Through them minorities often become powerful and dangerous, but these societies have no organic unity which binds them and enables them to serve the State as subsidiary organizations.

"Our present duty is to help to restore the organic form of social life. We need institutions organically linked with one another which will relieve the State, and do things by delegated civil authority. . . .

"The Holy Father emphasizes the fact that there is a hierarchy in the social order. He says: 'It is not true that all have equal rights in civil society. It is not true that there exists no lawful social hierarchy' (*Atheistic Communism*, 1937). There is a hierarchy of intelligence in the men with whom we associate. There is a hierarchy of resourcefulness, of beauty, of physical stature of men. If we consider the human body, we find there is a hierarchy in its members. . . .

"The varied groups of society are members of the social body. There is a hierarchy in its members. If all groups wished to be physicians, or lawyers, or scholars, or farmers, or engineers, we should have the disruption of society. It is natural that there be many social groups which are formed by reason of intellectual gifts, inclinations, and circumstances of individuals. It is advantageous that these groups be organically linked together for the common good. These members of the social body have naturally varied functions and dignity, which in no way militate against the nature and dignity of man. The dignity of working men certainly exceeds the dignity of lazy and voluntarily idle men.

"There should be no misunderstanding of the words of the Holy Father. The varying social orders must not be understood as a necessity arising from nature, but, rather, as an advantage to the social body; they do not mean that the Pope wants anything which can be called servitude. The suggestion does not mean the breaking down of the framework of a constitution or of a State where justice prevails. For us it means that we work out in our American way something which will give our social orders the character of a public legal entity which could settle business of minor importance.

"Our labor and trade unions are not vocational groups, but they are very necessary to protect the laboring and oppressed classes according to our

actual conditions. It is regrettable, however, that they are not taking a united stand for the common good of the rank and file of men who must live or eke out an existence by the sweat of their brow. There is no objection to having different types of unions, but there are serious objections to warfare between the unions. If peace prevailed among them, careful study should then enable their leaders to prepare a legislative program which would show the advantages of the reestablishment of graded hierarchical social orders and which would be most powerful in bringing peace to our whole country and securing social justice for the poor and for all who labor.

"The Pope insists on the correction of morals today. There are many revolutionary spirits who sincerely think that in Communism is to be found the remedy for the abuses of capitalism. Many who think they are guided by Marx feel that he offers a philosophy of life which will prove the panacea for the poor and the oppressed. Marx did not give us a philosophy; he gave us a technique of revolution. Marxism wants action. It has no interest in academic speculations. Whatever cannot be verified by experience is without value. Many who will not admit that they are followers of Marx are nevertheless infected by his false revolutionary technique.

"It is manifest that one of the basic things which true Christian Social Action must do is to popularize the truth of fixed and immutable principles of morality. If these are not unchanged and unchangeable, then we must logically expect disorder, tragedy, and revolution in society. Those seize and maintain political power who have might on their side. Without fixed principles of morality there can be no reform of society, there can be no peace among the nations. There is no commandment of love, either of God or of man.

"How infinitely superior is the law of the Gospel and of love over every other system."

LABOR PRINCIPLES

A plea for cooperation by Archbishop Mitty, made at San Francisco on May 31, gives some further applications of Christian social principles to the labor movement:

"1. There must be a sincere and a determined will to come to understanding and agreement, and to cooperate in maintaining them there must be a mind as open and as free as possible from narrow bias, and from any deliberate

clinging to real or fancied wrongs or injustices of the past.

"2. A sincere attempt on all sides to become better acquainted. Facts lie in personalities; and personalities come to be understood through friendly contacts. Strangers disagreeing, need the prelude of acquaintanceship before they can compose their differences.

"3. The facts of life are complex; those of present-day economic life in a large community are enormously so. No one can grasp them all. Groups or classes of citizens naturally know best the facts of their daily lives. Their very familiarity with these results is giving them a disproportionate emphasis over other facts less familiar. Conflicting facts and opposing views can only be adjusted or brought into a working system by seeing them and their relations honestly as a whole.

"4. No finally satisfactory solution of our economic conflicts can be reached overnight. Social and economic betterments can only be approximations towards an ideal. Each advanced position is in the nature of a compromise, and each compromise is an experiment to be tried out. We go forward by testing each successive step of the solution, holding and adding to what is right, and rejecting or modifying what is wrong. But the thinking, the conferring, the compromising, and the testing must all go on with our best intelligence, with unfailing good-will, with boundless hope, with infinite patience, and with that God-given element of spiritual integrity without which nothing will issue right. 'Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.'

"By all means let us make a beginning: let us meet together, work together, win out together. Our objective is to find and to live by the conditions that will bring to the whole community the highest measure of prosperity and happiness. The whole community first: its corporate blessings will descend upon its constituent members—that is upon all of us."

ARCHBISHOP SCORES CRUELTY IN MODERN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Condemning the hardness, cruelty, and relentlessness of the modern economic system, in an address to some 600 members of the Economic Club in Detroit on May 9, the Most Rev. Edward Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, emphasized the necessity of ethical principles being applied to economics and urged action to stem the trend toward an American proletariat.

Tracing the history of the present system, Archbishop Mooney told the

business men that "if we look at our present economic conditions against the background of ethics, we may be startled to note that the principles to which I have referred as so largely dominating economic life today and for 150 years back are in flat contradiction with the ethics of historic Christianity—and historic Judaism as well." "In fact," he added, "those principles either blatantly assert or clearly imply that the field of economics is quite distinct from the field of ethics."

To those who would object that the ethical principles were but generalities, Archbishop Mooney urged that they "look at economic life against the background of religion." "To put it very briefly," he said, "religion first of all gives definiteness to ethical judgments concerning those human relationships that make up our economic life. The code of moral conduct which guided the conscience of our western civilization for centuries—and which is being sadly neglected in the mass education of our industrial age—is taken verbatim from the religious revelation that is sacred to both historic Judaism and historic Christianity."

"The plain lesson of history during the past 150 years is that we should definitely set ourselves to turn back the trend that is running towards the formation of an American proletariat—a propertyless, wage-earning class. It imposes the duty of making it both desirable and possible for the mass of men to have ownership—both in their homes and in their means of livelihood. Of course, it is foolish to think that we can make the past live again—and recreate the individual craftsman, working with his own tools on materials which he himself owns. But we have to find a way to give the ordinary, industrious American a real stake in America.

"As an ideal this means more than a living wage, even on an annual basis; it means an opportunity to secure ownership proportionate to a man's ability and willingness to acquire in fair way. Only in a practical working towards that ideal lies real progress and, I might add, real safety for America. This is the only road to a measure of economic freedom which gives security and entails responsibility. One does not have to evoke the menacing specter of Communism to realize how pertinent to our own conditions here is this wise remark of an alert student of history: 'Political freedom without economic freedom is almost worthless; and it is because the modern proletariat has the one kind of freedom without the other that its rebellion is now threatening the very structure of the modern world.'

"The ethical view of economics not only emphasizes the lesson of history; it points the way to carry it out. It highlights the human, the reasonable, the sense of duty, the spirit of considerateness in rich and poor, in employer and employe. It suggests as imperative that we find a basis for confidence in one another—at least to the extent of talking things over as men with men, even though our starting points may seem to be poles apart.

"Less than two months ago I had the privilege of discussing this very question with a wise and highminded leader of men—Pope Pius XI. He quoted as applicable to economic conditions the world over today the saying of a great writer and a great student of human nature. The thought was that many men in power are humane and considerate enough to treat well the men who are under them, but not humane and considerate enough to treat with the men who are under them. Isn't this true? And isn't it surprising that it is true of men in power who have themselves come up from the ranks of labor? Surely they ought to know the soul of the workman well enough to realize that men want to be treated with even more than to be treated well. It is this instinct that marks the difference between a free-man and a slave. Surely, too, they ought to know that the one most effective way to spike the gun of the agitator and the revolutionist is to treat with the men whose grievances he is ready to exploit for his own explosive and subversive ends.

"We must either talk out our differences or fight them out. Who can doubt which of these two is the American way to settle differences? Who that loves America and all that America stands for can fail to be deeply disturbed at the sight of preparations to fight out differences rather than to talk them out? Who can fail to see that the outlook in America today would be far more hopeful if the amount of thought and money which is being expended on preparing for industrial strife were to be spent on developing agencies for industrial discussion and conciliation? Is it too much to say that the fate of our country in a critical day depends chiefly on our finding moderate men on the side of capital and of labor who are willing to sit down together in patient and considerate good-will to talk out their differences and difficulties in an effort to further interests which are essentially in harmony and not in conflict? Is it presumptuous for a newcomer here to say that Detroit looks like an exceptional terrain for the work of such pathfinders in industrial cooperation?"



Part III

World Survey



N. C. W. C. News Service.
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DISORDERS FEARED FROM LONDON GODLESS CONGRESS

Declaring that religious leaders here cannot be held responsible if opposition to the Atheist Congress, to be held in London in September, should take an active form leading to civil disorder, His Eminence Arthur Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, added: "We cannot believe that this congress is simply an ordinary meeting of bourgeois freethinkers."

His Eminence was speaking at the annual meeting of the Catholic Truth Society.

"I know, and we all know," he said, "that in April, 1936, at the Congress in Prague, the middle-class freethinkers and the 'proletarian' freethinkers, or militant godless people, became officially united, and that the general committee, as well as the executive committee of that newly combined international union, was formed so as to consist of half militant freethinkers and half middle-class bourgeois freethinkers."

"In order not to alarm the people of this country the militant atheists have entrusted the propaganda to the bourgeois anti-religious publications."

"But the people of this country will not be misled by this camouflaging of anti-God aims under seemingly moderate forms. Let us be determined that we do not want any bourgeois, subversive, Russian politics in this country."

"We want peace and good will all round in this beloved land of England. That peace we are confident will not be disturbed however much the union of militant godless, the International Communist Party and Soviet Russia may be allied to upset that peace."

"Anti-God politics that have wrought such havoc in other lands will not be favored by our freedom-loving people."

"If our government cannot or will not prevent this proposed atheistic congress in London—it was banned, you

know, in Brussels—it is at least forewarned and I hope forearmed against any action of the subversive forces calculated so to inflame public opinion as to lead to breaches of the peace."

"As for the Catholics of England, of Wales, of Ireland and of the Commonwealth, we are not going to give the loud-speaking anti-religious sections more importance and advertisement than they deserve."

"The Anti-God League, the union formed of anti-God politicians, would like us to add fuel to the fire of its campaign by too serious public opposition."

"We shall meet their violence by calm, spiritual methods that cannot fail."

"All the same it is clear that in this country there are very great numbers whose religious convictions are outraged by the suggestion of such an atheistic congress in London."

"Once we have made this clear, once this has been made quite plain, the religious leaders in this land cannot be held responsible if the opposition to the congress should take an active form leading to civil disorder."

FIGURES ON KIDNAPPED BASQUE CHILDREN

In an extensive work by Father Griful, S.J., who directs the secretariate for the repatriation of the Basque children established at Bilbao, some interesting but tragic statistics and facts are presented. Of 15,000 children evacuated, only some 4,000 have been recovered. Of this number, 1,500 came from England, 1,300 from France, 500 from Belgium and the remainder from various countries. The majority of those who have not been recovered will be found in Russia, France and Mexico. The Communist Minister Hernandez stated at Barcelona that "From Russia not one shall return until they have learned Russian and have been instructed in all the collectivist revolutionary technique."

Recently a colony of Basque children was transferred from Moscow to the Ukraine to complete their "instruc-

tion." On May Day, Basque children took part in the Socialist demonstration at London.

The Secretariate continually reiterates the demands of parents for the return of their children, but since Reds abroad place many difficulties in the way it has been successful in repatriating only those children who had been sheltered in Catholic families or institutions.

It is well known that for purposes of propaganda, which the cruel and unjustified evacuation of the children indicated, spectacular demonstrations have been organized in all countries, and that these demonstrations were not in any sense to the advantage of the children but were directed against the Nationalists. Walls have been plastered with posters to arouse compassion for the expatriated children. Frequently the children have been made to march in theatrical demonstrations having political and revolutionary aims. At Brussels these poor children, many of them the children of Catholic parents, were obliged to go through the streets with clenched fists raised, singing the "International" and crying out "Viva Communism!" and "Death to Spain!"

Red and Separatist agents, Father Griful states, have "faked letters from parents in which were tales of terrifying and harrowing crimes; some were convinced that their parents had been barbarously assassinated by the Nationalists, without there being a word of truth in these reports." Father Griful, with all the information that has passed through his hands, has found far worse details, especially regarding the life of the children in colonies or concentration camps.

In Marxist households many of the children were exploited for financial gain. One child, housed with a French family, is sent out with the cows at dawn and left in the fields until night. His "host" makes him write to his parents that he is well treated and going to school. A brother of the boy, a priest, has made a thousand efforts from across the border to have the child returned, but without success.

The efforts of the Secretariate are just as fruitless, and so the little Basque continues in his Marxist servitude. The Basque agents are supposed to pay the families who care for these children, but even when they are paid the child's keep, in many instances the children are treated worse than laborers.

The Secretariate has located more than 6,000 children. Some parents hear from their children but no return address is given. Nothing specific is known of those sent to Russia. Usually, after the first letter, nothing is heard. Some parents have had the satisfaction of being able to write to a given address, but if the letters contained favorable reports of conditions in Nationalist Spain, they were intercepted or altered. Many transfers have been made with the intent of throwing parents off the trail and, thus, all likelihood of communicating with their children is gone.

The work of repatriation has gone forward best in England, despite the Labor opposition and the campaign of fraudulent reports to prevent the return of the children. The situation in France is quite different. While apparently the Government and the authorities decide the matter, in reality it is certain organizations and individuals. The individuals have various reasons for wanting to detain the children—some because they have no children, others who want to keep the children as servants, still others who do not want to lose the pay for their keep, and there are those who oppose the repatriation for purely sectarian reasons. The fact is that the Secretariate encounters the greatest resistance to its humanitarian work. Some families have had to be threatened by the police before they would let the children leave.

Socialist organizations do not deign to reply to the letters forwarded by the Secretariate for parents. Of 2,600 requests for the restoration of children, 1,300 still remain exiled. The addresses of 600 of these are known. The parents think the others are in France, but they are not sure.

In Belgium the organization of Leftist character roundly refused to repatriate a single child, even when confronted with the specific requests of parents. They say that these children are the property of the State and that the legitimate State is the "Republican Spain." The Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines and the Catholic organizations are returning all the children they can, despite the protests of the Separatist Basques.

The children in Mexico, Denmark and the Scandinavian countries are in

the same status as those in Russia—that is, lost to their families.

1,324 RELIGIOUS SLAIN IN LEFTIST SPAIN

Osservatore Romano has published a list of 1,324 Religious who are known definitely to have been slain in Leftist-controlled Spain.

It is made clear that this does not by any means represent all the Catholic priests and Religious who have been killed by the Leftists in Spain. It does not include the members of the diocesan clergy, of whom 6,000 have been killed, His Eminence Isidro Cardinal Goma y Tomas, Archbishop of Toledo, Spain, affirms. It does not include the religious Orders of women. It includes only members of religious Orders of men, and not all of these. For example, the Dominicans and Franciscans, of whom some hundred are reported to have been killed, are not represented in the list because of the impossibility to get full verification of reports at this time. It represents those members of religious Orders of men whose deaths at the hands of Leftists have been ascertained beyond any possible doubt. All of the Orders and Congregations have motherhouses or general procurators in Rome, which received authentic, verified information.

These figures were collected for an anti-Bolshevist exhibition recently held in Rome by the center of anti-Bolshevist information at the Russian College in Rome.

Among those whose deaths at the hands of Spanish radicals have been definitely established are nine members of the Hierarchy; namely, the Bishops of Cadiz, Lerida, Almeria, Barbastro, Jaca, Cuenca, Segorbe and Ciudad Real, and the Auxiliary Bishop of Tarragona.

Among the members of religious Orders or Congregations of men whose deaths have been established are:

Claretians, 237; Christian Brothers, 136; Marists, 109; Franciscans, 104; Augustinians, 101; Jesuits, 100; Capuchins, 89; Clerks Regular of the Pious Schools, 84; Salesians, 67; Lazarists, 56; Discalced Carmelites, 42; Carmelites of the Early Observance, 42; Brothers Hospitallars of St. John of God, 42; Trinitarians, 20; Redemptorists, 19; Benedictines, 18; Congregation of the Holy Family, 16; Mercedarians, 16; Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, 10; Brothers of St. Gabriel, 3; Holy Cross Congregation, 2; and Friars of St. Francis of Paula, 2.

WRITER ASKS CLOSER RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

By CHARLES BETICO

(Mexico City Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service)

MEXICO CITY, May 12.—Opposition to the penetration of foreign capital, and to classes and groups antagonistic to the progress of the revolution and the establishment of closer relations with "progressive or frankly revolutionary countries as, for example, the Soviet Union," are presented as components of "the principal axis" of education in Mexico in an article by Prof. Antonio Lara Baragan, published in *Revista de Educacion*, official education publication of the Mexican Government.

"The struggle against the penetration of the financial capital of other countries in the national economy," the article states, "the struggle against classes and social groups antagonistic to the progress of the revolution; the struggle against the conflicts that arise within the proletarian classes; the struggle for the unification of the great masses that constitute the Mexican nation for the complete realization of the postulates of the revolution; and the impulsion by the State forces of the country to establish intimate relations between our country and the progressive or frankly revolutionary countries as, for example, the Soviet Union, these must constitute the principal axis about which education in Mexico revolves. . . .

"Educational matters, therefore, will embrace three aspects: Man as a social subject, the product of natural biology at a determined moment in his evolution; nature as a physical mean important to man, and the relation of these two social and natural elements; that is to say, labor, the human art. And these three factors, which constitute the essence of the cosmic Being, necessarily will be present in the development of education, forming a simple complex in their dialectic casual relations just as they are presented in reality."

This same publication, in its March issue, gave the illiteracy figure as 59.20 per cent of the total Mexican population of 16,552,722. This percentage, however, is considered lower than conditions warrant since, in reaching this percentage, the total population figure used includes the foreign colonies. In the illiteracy statistics given by States, Vera Cruz heads the list with 628,066 illiterates; Oaxaca is next with 599,144; then Puebla, with 551,088; and Jalisco, with 495,592. The Federal District has 215,697 illiterates and occupies fifth place.



Part IV

Documentation



The American Mercury. June, 1938. *The Real Communist Menace.* By Lawrence Dennis.

Mr. Dennis vigorously exposes Communist practice and principles:

"So far as we Americans are concerned, the real Communist menace operates mainly in two indirect ways. The first is through its influence on international relations in which we are inevitably involved: the second is through the leaven of Communism in the complex of current American ideas and attitudes. Expressed somewhat more concretely, the Communist menace for us consists of two rather distinct sets of possibilities: the first is that we shall be maneuvered into fighting a war to further Communist interests or to help carry out a Communist plan. (This, of course, we should do in complete disregard—if not blissful ignorance—of the true implications of so suicidal a war, and in the mistaken belief that it was altogether essential to our safety and best interests.) The second set of possibilities with which we are threatened is that our New Dealers, influenced by Communist ideology, will render Capitalism unworkable and its collapse inevitable, thus precipitating exactly the kind of situation Communism requires for the successful culmination of its strategy. . . .

"Liberals who imagine that Communism and Liberalism can live together harmoniously in the same world forget that Communism sprang from the brain of Karl Marx just when he was leading a sheltered life in London and studying Liberalism and Capitalism when they were in their soundest phase. Marx understood Liberalism better than most Liberals. *He hated it and conceived a revolutionary social philosophy aimed at its destruction.* Now that Liberal Capitalism is tottering, why suppose that the bloody oligarchs of the Kremlin have become seized with a benign and sentimental wish to preserve the objective of their traditional hate? Why attribute to gory Stalin a benignity for Liberalism opposite to the feeling of the gentle old Marx pottering around the British Museum?

"A clear understanding of the subtleties and apparent contradictions of Communist ideology and strategy is imperative if the Communist menace is to be checked. For these seemingly abstract factors are shaping world events today. Mechanized armies are their instruments. Dramatized dictators are their tools. Their decisive battles are in the field of propaganda. . . .

"In one direction the Communists appeal to tolerance: in the other, they appeal to hate. This is perfectly logical and consistent: it is calculated to further the Revolution and hasten the destruction of the existing order. *The only inconsistency involved is that shown by the Liberals who extend tolerance to their would-be destroyers.* As a matter of fact, any honest Communist will privately admit as much. It would be enlightening for the Liberals to know how the Communists they are defending laugh at them disdainfully behind their backs.

"The outstanding recent achievement of this Communist strategy has been the widespread dissemination of the absurd lie that Communism has abandoned World Revolution and concentrated on the building of Socialism in one country. This lie was started when the first Five Year Plan got under way. Obviously, Communism cannot be Marxian, or true to itself, without World Revolution. The difference between building Socialism in one country and building national Socialism is purely verbal; so would be the difference between Stalin and Hitler, but for Marxism and World Revolution. Communism in Russia may quite well, in the sequel to war or collapse of the Stalin regime, metamorphose into a Russian national Socialism or Fascism: but this cannot happen as long as the ideals of Marx and Lenin are revered by the oligarchs of the Kremlin.

"In his letter to an obscure Communist youth, published in *Pravda* on February 14, Stalin nailed the lie about the abandonment of World Revolution. He recalled the statement by Lenin that a conflict between the Soviet Union and the Capitalist countries was inevitable. Said Stalin: 'The aid of the international proletariat appears to be a force without which the final victory of Socialism in one country is not to be decided.' . . .

"Earl Browder, Moscow's present commissar for the United States, recently stated publicly that, regardless of anything formerly written by any Communist, Communism now stands for liberty, free speech, Democracy, and constitutional government. Statements of this character would be funny, were they not being taken at face-value by our Liberal statesmen and educators: if Granville Hicks were not being called from the *New Masses* to the faculty of Harvard University to spread Communist propaganda; if our best Eastern universities were not swarming with Left-Wing exiles from Europe who are privileged here to take jobs needed by unemployed native Americans, and, at the same time, to agitate for American involvement in Popular-Front coalitions with Communist Russia."

Spain Transformed. By Rev. Owen B. McGuire, in *The Sign* for May. There is perfect unity in Nationalist Spain today.

Father McGuire draws attention to the fact that "reference is seldom made, even today, to the plans for a Red Revolution in the spring of 1936, which failed because the army uprising took place before the plans could be put into effect." "Instructions sent out from Madrid at that time to every town in Spain were carried out to the letter wherever they had time to put them in execution," he states, "as they had in Malaga, Madrid and other places. These instructions, for the rising of the proletariat, were first sent out in April.

"Some writers seem to doubt that this revolution was in preparation to be launched in the summer. There is no doubt whatever about it. I have here on my desk

photographic copies of the instructions, and these can be obtained, I believe, by writing to the Government office in Salamanca, where I got them."

"The instructions as to what was to be done with opponents are illuminating and explain what was actually done in Malaga and other places," Fr. McGuire says. "A list of 'enemies' was to be made in each locality. No list was necessary of Bishops, priests, monks or nuns, nor of the churches to be destroyed. Everyone who represented, and everything that symbolized, religion must be destroyed."

Had the Red Revolution succeeded, the author asserts, the whole of Spain would today present a picture of anarchy in contrast to the peace prevailing in Nationalist territory.

Father McGuire says that everyone who makes the same journey shares the reaction of Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*—amazement at the order, unity and contentment to be found in Nationalist territory in Spain. "To a stranger going into a country at war and so misrepresented during the past two years," says Father McGuire, "the amazement is natural. But foreigners who have lived in Spain for years and have seen the change are amazed for other reasons."

"I met there several Englishmen and Americans who have been engaged in business, commerce or industry and have had experience of the before and after," Father McGuire states. "One of these, Mr. Bachman, has been at the head of an American industry—the Armstrong Book Company—which has several factories in the south of Spain and along the Portuguese border. This industry employs thousands of men. Mr. Bachman said to me: 'It has amazed me. I am not referring to the military movement alone. The manner in which all classes have united, not only taken over the local civil governments but set up all kinds of organizations for agriculture, for the revival of business, public order, housing, relief, is something I could not have believed years ago. I have had to revise and reverse my opinion of the capacity of the Spanish people.' Mr. Bachman has his home at Seville, but is usually on the road visiting the various factories of the company."

"Another American, Mr. Norton, I met at Malaga. He has been for years at the head of an American company which exports almonds from that port. His testimony was identical with that of Mr. Bachman. Seville is the largest, and was before Franco's revolt the most Communist town in Andalusia. Mrs. Bachman is a literary character and has lectured in England. She kept a diary of what was happening in Seville, beginning with April, 1936. She allowed me to read it. What she describes in those pages would be incredible, if they were not facts that happened under her eyes."

"There was no government: complete anarchy. Business and industry were paralyzed. Every Marxist group, or 'Committee' as they styled themselves, had a government of its own and was a law to itself. If the employers made peace with one group, another came and declared it was not acceptable. No employer, foreign or native, was sure of his life for twenty-four hours. Every man who tried to make peace was marked down as 'a traitor to the workers' if he did not approve of the impossible demands of the Anarchists and Syndicalists."

"Among the things that amazed the Bachmans and Nortons is the incredible transformation among these same workers after peace was established. An illustration of this was given me by Mr. Bachman the evening before I left Seville. For seven months before the war (it must be remembered that the anarchy began in December, 1935, when the Center-Right Government resigned), work in

his factories had been paralyzed by strikes and impossible demands. He did not blame the men but the leaders, often entire strangers to Seville, whom the men had to obey; and in most cases these leaders were ignorant dolts who knew nothing of how to run any business and could not tell a spade from a hand-saw."

"It was on a Saturday evening I had dinner with the Bachmans, when he told me this story. A small private railroad which ran into the factory had been badly in need of repairs for several months. The material for its reconstruction had arrived during the week. On that afternoon a delegation of the workmen called on him after pay hour and asked him to allow them to repair the railroad next day—which was Sunday—so that the regular work of the factory would not be interfered with in doing it during the week! And for this they would accept no pay! And these were the very same men on whom he could not depend for twenty-four hours during the seven months that preceded the war."

As reasons for this change, Father McGuire lists, first, General Franco, whose treatment of the civilian population "in every town he liberated won for him from the beginning the sympathy and support of all classes"; second, "the psychology and traditions of the Spanish people," who "will accept easily a strong central government, always provided it attends to its own sphere and leaves them to manage their local affairs," and, third, "Franco's government has done things instead of promising to do them and perorating about them."

Catalonia Infelix. By E. Allison Peers. Oxford University Press, N. Y.

This book ranks with the author's *Spanish Tragedy*. Mr. Peers is a specialist in Catalan history and literature. The vexed problems of that unhappy land are thoroughly analyzed and discussed. The author is an Anglican, hence his glowing tribute to the zeal, patriotism, and religious spirit of the Catalan clergy surely is not due to "bias." Communism and Syndicalism have been the plagues of Catalonia. On the other hand, Madrid has often pursued a narrow and oppressive policy with regard to Catalonia. Some form of "home rule" is an urgent need. Franco should strive to solve this problem, and that of the Basques, along the lines of "autonomy" rather than through excessive centralization. Most Catalans are not "separatists." *Combó* and the *Lliga*, and even the *Esquerra*, are "good Spaniards" at heart. Communism and Syndicalism used "Catalan regionalism" as tools to attain their own ends. Catholics owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Peers for his able and scholarly defense of the Spanish Church in her hour of travail.

L. K. P., S.J.

From a French Radical. M. Gaboriau, writing for *Ere Nouvelle*, radical daily which he directs, calls for collaboration between Democracy and Christianity.

His article, headed "Suggestion of An Unbeliever," has caused quite an echo in Parisian political circles. The theme of the article is that the Catholic Church, aware of the pretensions and arrogance of totalitarian States in a number of countries, ought quite naturally to seek the collaboration of the Democratic Republics and that Republican France must re-establish with Christianity continuous, durable, confident and strong relations.

"It is indeed Christianity," Gaboriau states, "that has placed in the center of the social, political and human question the concept of the individual; that has based the organization of society on the corner stone of sacred and imprescriptible rights of the human person; that has definitely set apart the human being and made of him the

premier and inviolable cell of all collective life, of all society.

"All our civilization throughout the ages has rested upon this solid base of the Christian institution. In the sixteenth century, the Reformation in Germany was, at bottom, only an assertion of nationalism, of German particularism against the Roman, universal spirit.

"The active or passive justice that was her due in ages past should not retard us from recognizing that the Church today, united and disciplined as never before, produces a superhuman effort to assure the triumph of a policy founded on Christian doctrine. One must recognize this with good faith, and recognize that this doctrine places no obstacle in the way of democracy, but rather to the contrary."

The director of *Ere Nouvelle* emphasized the fact that he spoke as a *laic*, remaining faithful to his doctrine of laicity of the State. Precisely because he believes that this laicity is well established, he sees no danger in collaboration with the Church. It is quite evident that he envisages the matter from a strictly political viewpoint and, beyond a doubt, would make many reservations with respect to the theory that he expounds regarding the possibility of the Universal Church's association with the body politic in this or that particular State.

It is no less interesting, however, to direct attention to the position taken by a journal of the Party headed by Herriot, and to recall that in 1924, when Herriot and his friends had overthrown Poincaré, their first concern was to propose suppression of the French Embassy at the Vatican. The article just published is a startling confession that they were in error then.

In Spain with the International Brigade. Pamphlet published in London by Burns, Oates and Washbourne. The influence of Russian Communism is a predominant factor in Government Spain today, declares the writer. He remains anonymous, but is an English working man who served with the International Brigade from January, 1937, to the following September. "He volunteered for Spain in the sincere belief that he would be fighting for freedom and democracy," says the publishers' note in the pamphlet, "and this is the story of his disillusionment."

"Anybody who happens to read my rambling story," the author says, "will see that there are wide differences between what we understand by democracy and the conditions under which the International Brigade, anyway its less influential members, were expected to live, and yet they were the men, and it was nobody else, who saved Madrid."

The permeating influence of Communism in Leftist Spain is described or indicated throughout the narrative. The author's fares through France were paid by the Communist Party of Great Britain. In Paris, the volunteers were fed by the French Communist Party, while at the end of his service he was paid off—partly—in London at the headquarters of the Communist Party. Throughout his service, he writes, the Brigade was commanded by Russian and French officers and was under the control of the Political Commissar, whose principal task, says the author, was to imbue the men with Leftist and at times outright Communist propaganda.

The author tells how at various stopping places in Spain the members of the Brigade were ordered to sing the *Internationale*, while throughout Leftist territory "peasants gave us the clenched fist salute" and the "children would usually gather round us singing the *Internationale* and waving their red flags." On the way to the front, he says, "the red flag was flying everywhere, with the hammer and the sickle of the Soviets," while "the

smallest children seemed to be able to sing the *Internationale* and to give the clenched fist salute." "Anybody could see that they had all been trained to it, for it was done in clearly organized fashion," he adds. "I began to think that I had come to a Bolshevik State instead of to the democratic one that I had expected."

The narrative relates how membership cards of the Communist Party were "as good as a passport in Government Spain." He says that the Political Commissar was a leading member of the British Communist Party.

The author describes altercations with the military authorities and frequent prison sentences without trial and, in many cases, without even being acquainted with the reason for his imprisonment. "I often thought," he adds, "of what the English Democrats would say if they knew how we were treated by the so-called democracy which we had come to Spain to defend." A concentration camp to which he was sent, he says, "was run on the Soviet system," and after some experiences there, he declares the volunteers were forced to revise their ideas "of the proletarian justice, of which we had been given such glowing accounts from the platforms of the Communist Party in England."

He says that when he wrote home the only news he was allowed to send "was a lot of lies praising the Communist Party, and for this reason there were a number who never wrote at all." He charges that he saw with his own eyes Leftist soldiers with flat-nosed bullets, a charge, he reminds, which was made against the Rightists.

"How widely known is it," he asks elsewhere, "that the local branches of the Communist Party were receiving a bonus for every recruit they sent out to the International Brigade? Would it be too much to say that the Communist Party in Britain flourished on the bones of those who lie in the Jarama Valley and at Brunete? The Communist Party would be better off if we never returned, for their deeds might then not see the light of day."

"Looking back on things," he says, "it seems to me that as soon as we passed the Spanish frontier we ceased to be volunteers and became conscripts in the interests of Communism; the methods used towards us bear a striking likeness to the stories which have come through from Russia, and have nothing in common with the spirit of democracy as I understand it."

In the village school of La Guardia, he says, there were pictures of Lenin and Stalin in the center of the yard and the children gave the Communist salute as they passed by. The classrooms, he says, were plastered with so-called "anti-Fascist posters." "There was one huge poster," he writes, "of a fat priest with a red nose drinking champagne and giving the Fascist salute to Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco. Side by side with these posters were others of the happy children in Soviet Russia. It was clear enough where the children had learnt their anti-religious behavior. That night we witnessed an anti-religious procession of children, some of whom were in clerical dress and carrying religious emblems."

At Raido, where he was sent for hospitalization, the author says he found no evidence of religion. "Churches," he adds, "were closed and plastered with revolutionary slogans, and I heard that everyone was afraid to mention religion, for whoever did so was suspected of Fascism, and ran the risk of grave consequences."

At one place, he writes, they were billeted in a monastery, which was intact, but some of the furniture had been roughly handled, and books and letters were strewn all over the floor. "Revolutionary slogans were chalked upon the walls," he adds, "with immodest caricatures of monks and nuns."

Harpers. June, 1938. *Communism Twenty Years After*. By Lillian Symes.

COURTSHIP OF DEMOCRACIES

During the past two years the American Communist Party has pursued the policy of "whooping it up" for democracy. Accordingly—

(1) Last September the party formally celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Constitution and requested the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Veterans of Foreign Wars to participate in the celebration.

(2) Earl Browder assures us that in the event of another war to save the world for democracy American Communism will support every effort to stamp out the forces of opposition.

(3) The Communist press has enthusiastically adopted the jingoism of nationalism. Witness the shrill protests when the *Panay* was bombed.

(4) Mr. Browder has taken great pains to point out that Japan is a threat, not to Soviet Russia, but to American democracy; that there is danger of a Fascist invasion from South America.

There is only one link which binds this "pro-democratic" American Communism to the belligerent world-revolutionary Communism of former years and that is the Foreign Office of the Soviet Union. Communist organizations throughout the world are naught but branches of the Russian Communist Party and their policies are determined by Stalin, no matter what their immediate or intermediate sources may be.

NEW LEFT-WARD TREND

Although Soviet policy is directed toward the lining up of democratic nations against her probable enemies, nevertheless a new trend toward the left is discernible in the form of an appeal to the international proletariat, following a recent letter of Stalin in *Pravda*. This letter urges the workers of the world to unite against the "bourgeois nations" in defense of the Soviet Union, and no distinction is drawn between democratic and Fascist nations. Probable reasons for this new trend are as follows:

(1) The international situation; England has been cold to a "democratic" alliance against Fascism and there is need to rationalize, at home and abroad, the failure of Litvinov's foreign policy.

(2) The support of the international proletariat is being sought as an antidote to the possible failure of attempts to unite the democracies against Soviet Russia's enemies.

(3) It is necessary to pacify those conscientious Communists who balk at the party's swing to the right.

Non-Communist radicals consider Communism's policy the rankest opportunism; sympathetic and naïve liberals believe it indicates conversion to true democracy. The latter ignore the recent history of Soviet Russia and the kidnappings, killings and imprisonments perpetrated by the unofficial O. G. P. U. set up in Loyalist Spain to silence political dissenters, most of whom have fought bravely against Franco. And pro-Communist liberal journalists lead the campaign of calumny against these victims in the outside world. Most interesting of all is the reaction of the liberal periphery of Communism. These men hotly defend civil liberties against the ruthless attacks of Fascism and with equal vehemence condemn those who oppose the same kind of attacks on civil liberties issuing from the Communist quarter.

But most Americans are inclined to regard American Communism as quite unimportant. The party was organized in 1919 with 35,000 members. Today its membership numbers between 60,000 and 70,000. It has never

polled over 100,000 votes. But these figures are deceptive. A group of this size acting independently would no doubt be quite impotent, but the American Communist Party does not operate independently. On the contrary, it has succeeded in permeating many "broader" movements, e.g., the anti-Nazi, the youth and the labor movements. This penetration is made possible only through the efforts of sympathetic liberals, articulate intellectual groups, artists, editors, etc. Some of these groups are not even conscious that they are aiding the cause of Communism, so cleverly has the party played upon anti-war and anti-dictatorship feeling; so successfully has it identified itself with democracy.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET POLICY

The trend to the right was not a moral reaction against Fascism. Back in 1924 Il Duce, generally regarded as a social outcast, dined at the Soviet Embassy and was photographed beneath a picture of Lenin. In 1931 German Communists supported the Nazis in the elections, and in 1933, when Communists were being thrown into German concentration camps, Soviet Russia was negotiating an agreement with the Nazi rulers. Far from being a moral reaction against Fascism, it was a reaction against German designs on the Ukraine and an attempt to conclude a defensive alliance with England and France. Upon the success of such an alliance with France, French Communists endorsed bigger armaments for *La Patrie*, but upon the failure to conclude such an alliance with England, she was accused of plotting with Germany and Japan against Soviet Russia.

By 1938 the party was wooing every group from the Y's to the Roman Catholic Church. By 1937 even the move for a Labor Party was considered too radical. It was replaced by a general call for a People's Front. In 1936 the party came close to endorsing to Roosevelt candidacy. In France even the Fascists were invited to defend the Franco-Soviet Pact, and the Italian Fascists were offered a united front "on the basis of the 1919 Fascist program."

Stalin liquidated Communism. Devotion to Russia is the new faith of Communists and pro-Communists. Those who refused to accept the new faith have been more than replaced by the inflow of new followers, many of whom belonged to the League Against War and Fascism (now the League for Peace and Democracy). All obstacles formerly presented by "proletarian culture" have been removed and today the only requirements for admission into Communists intellectual groups, such as the Leagues of American Writers and Artists, are endorsement of progressive ideas and innocence of public criticism of the Party Line.

METHOD OF CONTROL

But how does the Communist Party control all these amorphous peripheral organizations, many of which are not even sympathetic with Communism?

The party's peripheral organizations are mostly composed of "innocents" who do not know that their organization is being manipulated by Communists. The manipulation is done by a party fraction, composed of party members or of fellow-travelers, who for some reason or other do not actually join the party. This fraction gets control of the organization and receives its orders directly from the party.

The party seeks the widest possible support. This policy wins over many "innocents," who are deceived by the sponsorship of big names.

The utility of these organizations to the party is this, that they constitute powerful pressure groups, audiences for Communist lecturers, readers of Communist literature, and instruments for boycott.

The difference between the Communist organization of mass pressure and that of other groups lies in this, that it influences *vanguard* opinion through the good offices of its professional and literary friends, such as Mr. Broun, who succeed in creating prejudices favorable to the party's cause.

The party often makes its most valuable contacts by utilizing groups engaged in fostering good-will toward Russia. Thus when Anna Louise Strong lectures under the sponsorship of the Russian-American Institute she presents the Party Line.

Communism has thoroughly invaded Hollywood. Writers with left-wing tendencies have migrated to Hollywood in droves, where their anti-Fascist and pro-peace sentiments have been directed into the "proper" channels by party agents. Direction of such sentiments is comparatively easy, since the colony knows little about foreign affairs apart from what the party men have taught it.

The Soviet purges, which are being directed against both the Trotsky and Bukharin opposition, are not being carried out for the sake of an ideology but for the maintenance of bureaucratic power—or rather, for the maintenance of strong man rule.

It is the Socialist movement which is trying to think through these problems dispassionately—and this is the "healthiest development in the international labor movement."

C. A. E., S.J.

The Month. April, 1938, T. W. C. Curd, "*Communist Camouflage.*"

A vigorous and well-documented exposé of the Common Front strategy. Maurice Thorez has declared (in October, 1937), "the alliance between Catholics and Communists is necessary. It simply demands mutual good faith, a mutual spirit of tolerance." Mr. Curd exposes this "smoke screen" with ruthless vigor. He cites evidence from the program of the Communist International, and the actions of the Communists in Spain, Russia, and Hungary to refute Thorez. The "new culture" of Communism "will bury forever all religion." Cardinal Verdier has counselled Catholics to strive in every way to "enlighten" Communists. He does not sanction "cooperation." Catholics should ever remember the words of the Pope: "Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may give it assistance in any undertaking whatever."

L. K. P., S.J.

Blackfriars. April, 1938.

Joseph Clayton contributes a brief but very illuminating article on "Christian Tradition in the English Labour Movement." The Trade Unions preceded the social movement in England. The British workers were not "class conscious" as in Germany and France. Again, Godless Marxism and Anarcho-Syndicalism had no appeal to British toilers. Dissenting ministers and Anglican clergymen have been prominent in the British Labour Movement. Among Catholics, Cardinal Manning was a pioneer in championing the right of labor to organize and to secure a living wage. "Jim" Sexton, Tom McCarthy, and other labor leaders were Catholics. Mr. Clayton also notes the splendid work of John Lister, the Oxford convert, "a 'ready' disciple of Manning in the cause of Labour." The article concludes with a note of warning. Today "the labour movement might be drawn by an aggressive minority into anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism." "The Catholic Social Guild; St. Joan's Society . . . all bear witness to the Christian tradition. But in how many parishes the cry for social justice falls on deaf ears! Not

in the stars, not in the 'wickedness' of 'Communists,' but in ourselves is the fault. In ourselves lies the responsibility for the disaffection from the Faith and the estrangement from the Church that are overtaking multitudes in England as elsewhere. The pity of it!"

Contemporary Review. London, March, 1938.

Mr. Suetens discusses the Van Zeeland Report. The former Premier of Belgium analyzes world economic conditions with skill. He stresses five causes of the present tension: (1) Unequal distribution of raw materials; (2) uneven distribution of capital; (3) racial and minority questions; (4) the lack of a satisfactory settlement of international loans; (5) the general armament race. Until trade barriers are loosened and access to raw materials facilitated, economic tension will remain or increase. Vast sums spent on armaments can produce no real and permanent recovery.

L. K. P., S.J.

Etudes. 20 Feb. 1938. *Lénine, Maître Inhumain.* By André de Bovis. An interesting and well-documented study of the teachings of Lenin. The utter "realism" of the Russian archrevolutionist is stressed. "How should we act? According to justice and the will of the majority? No. *We should act in a practical way.*" Marxism is materialism . . . implacably hostile to religion." Lenin laid down in outline the tactics of the "Common Front." He saw the need of "zig-zags" in the "Party Line." This study is a brilliant synthesis of his teachings on several vital points.

L. K. P., S.J.

Tablet. London, March 5, 12, 19, 26; April 3, 1938.

A. A. Parker contributes a most informative series of articles on the "Catholic Church in Spain from 1800 Till Today." The "wealth" of the Church, the work of the religious orders, the Concordat of 1851, the status of the Church under the Restoration Monarchy, are ably discussed. "Liberalism," masonry, and over-conservatism in certain Catholic circles throttled the Church in her social activities under the former régime.

Commonweal. March 11, 1938. *The Wealth of the Church in Spain.* By E. Allison Peers.

The eminent English historian and litterateur discusses this question with his usual balance. He refutes the fable that the Spanish Church was "wealthy" amidst a "wretched nation." The bulk of the clergy were really very poor. The revenues of the Church were in fact insufficient for her mission.

L. K. P., S.J.

I. C. T. S. Pamphlets

Why the Press Failed on Spain. By the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, charges the press with bias, exposes the Badajoz myth and that of the bombing of Guernica, and describes the workings of the Communist propaganda machine in Spain, the announcement states.

American or Communist? You Can't Be Both. By the Rev. William J. Smith, S.J., deals with the appointment to office of an American Communist by the Borough President of Manhattan.

Writers Take Sides. Booklet published by Communists in New York.

The booklet advertises a thousand-dollar contest for student writers on "The Antifascist Struggle in Spain Today." It offers awards for "either poetry or prose,

film or radio script, fiction, drama or essay." It offers a bibliography suggesting a number of Leftist writings the student should study in preparation for the contest. One of the suggested articles is "American Democracy vs. The Spanish Hierarchy." This appendix also presents what it calls the "Aims of the Spanish Loyalist Government," setting it up as "a democratic republic of workers of all classes which is organized as a regime of liberty and justice." It also prints what it calls the "Aims of the Franco Junta," presenting the Nationalist side as a Fascist dictatorship.

The booklet asserts that it "gives the position of writers in America," the obvious inference being that all or the chief American writers are included. The definite impression is left, however, that the "over a thousand prominent writers" to whom the questionnaire was sent were carefully selected. Answers by a number of newspaper editors and writers, as well as novelists and playwrights, are printed, but not a single Catholic editor is quoted, despite the fact that a number have written well-known books.

A foreword says the booklet quotes 418 replies to the questionnaire, and that 98 per cent of these "favor the Loyalist Government and oppose Franco"; 1.75 per cent "are neutral," and one-quarter of 1 per cent "are pro-Franco." However, the foreword admits that the editorial committee for the booklet found it expedient to edit "some extraneous and repetitious matter" out of the answers, and also that "the same consideration dictated the choice of answers accompanied by requests to 'print all of this or none'."

Moreover, the two questions propounded are obviously phrased so as to induce pro-Leftist replies. They were: "Are you for, or are you against, Franco and Fascism?" and "Are you for, or are you against, the legal government and the people of Republican Spain?" Approaching in character the old trick question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" these two inquiries left the respondent no room, if a categorical answer were given, to say he opposed Fascism, but believed Franco is not Fascist. Nor did they give him a chance to say he favored legal government, but did not regard the Leftist regime in Spain as legal.

As a matter of fact, two writers, answering jointly, stated that "These are such leading questions that they will seriously detract from the value of your inquiry. There aren't half a dozen writers in America, perhaps there isn't one, who would say flatly he was 'for Fascism'—and who will declare against a 'legal government'!"

Other respondents included such statements as: a declaration that the Leftist regime "is probably not so hot at that"; a refusal to agree to "any active cooperation to make the world safe for anything"; a denial of any "special knowledge of Spain"; a statement that "even so, I do not want it assumed that my loathing of Fascism makes me any less intolerant of those anti-Fascist systems of government that employ the same methods of terrorism, denying every right that democracy guarantees"; "that's like asking a man if he's left off beating his wife. . . . I have profound suspicion of any man who fires a question at me and demands a Yes or No reply"; "I think I ought to add that I am as emphatically against Stalin and Stalinism!" "I am not, however, a Communist, and I dislike having my anti-Fascist opinions used as Communist propaganda."

Editors of *New Masses* are permitted to make some of the longer replies, and they are not confined to answering the questions. While some replies admittedly were edited to cut out "extraneous and repetitious matter," many of the answers go far beyond answering the questions, to argue in favor of the Leftist cause, and one respondent is permitted to take considerable space to present "four obvious lines of action that are imperative" in behalf of Leftist Spain.

While the foreword states that only one response was "pro-Franco," this letter is set forth at the very end, under the heading "Against." This apparently means against the Leftists, and would indicate a desire to classify the responses as for or against the Leftists. This sole letter is that of Gertrude Atherton, who expresses the hope that General Franco "will mop up the Communists, and send home, with tail between their legs, all those gullible Americans who enlisted to save 'Spanish democracy'."

